

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW ❧

VOLUME LXIX

1879.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and binders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXXXVII.

ART I.—RECENT INVESTIGATIONS INTO ARCHAIC FORMS OF RELIGION.

YOU will seek in vain, says the great philosopher Hume, for a race of men without religion ; if such there be, they are very little removed from brutes. The search has been continued for centuries and has not been successful ; every race, every tribe, however ignorant or barbarous, has some notions of religion, of invisible spirits and superhuman agency.

And wherefore? Because religion is a natural product, an inevitable outcome of human faculties, of imagination, fear, hope, veneration and love. Wherever we meet with human intellect and human feelings, there we must expect to find their inevitable result—Religion. Religion is coeval with human feelings and therefore with man. To seek for absence of religion where imagination and hope and fear and love and other human faculties exist, is like seeking for absence of water where hydrogen and oxygen exist in a chemically combined state. In the present chapter we shall try to account for this “natural religion,” if we may so call it. Regarding Revelation, or the necessity of a revealed religion, we shall make no remarks ;—our sole attempt will be to show how the unassisted human brain conjures up religions, in compliance with the laws of mind ; and how such religions are changed and modified, with change in society and progress in civilization.

The crudest form of religion with which we are acquainted, springs from the tendency to suppose an actor whenever an action strikes our imagination and arrests our attention. One often sees a kitten spring back in alarm at the sound of a withered leaf, or a crumpled piece of paper, suddenly moved towards it by the wind. It then pauses, looks at the moving object, perhaps

retreats again, or runs away in utter dismay. By an operation of the intellect which brute animals possess in common with man, it associates motion with life, from its every-day experience, and imagines the strange object to be possessed of life capable of doing harm. By an operation of feeling which it also possesses in common with man, the animal is smitten with fear as soon as its attention is roused, and its imagination is struck. So far there is a complete parallel between man and animal, but the imagination of brutes is a weak and undeveloped faculty; its operation extends no further. With more developed faculties, the cat would have imagined a living being not only in a moving object, but in sounds and solitudes, in the roar of thunder, in the creaking of dark forests, in the fall of cataracts. I have indeed seen a cat running full speed into a hut at the sound of thunder, and crouching in it while the storm lasted, but it is difficult to say whether in this instance the sense of danger was accompanied with the idea of a living being causing the sound. The more developed imagination and reason of man here step in and enable him to conceive a being hurling the lightning, another raising the storm, and a vast number of them swarming in dark forests, lofty peaks, the echoing chasm or the bottomless deep. And this is the natural origin of religion.

We have said that religion in its first form springs from the tendency to imagine an actor whenever an action arouses our feelings. Fear is the strongest feeling in barbarian life; neither hope, nor love, nor veneration, approaches it in intensity. Indeed the civilized man who has mastered the powers of nature, and to some extent has made life an easy, settled one, can scarcely conceive the constant influence of fear on barbarian life, which is but one long chapter of accidents and dangers. It is fear, then, that oftenest arouses the imagination of barbarians, and bodies forth, not benevolent deities but dark forms, malignant beings, terrible deities, bent on persecuting the race of man. Life to the barbarian is not one of ease and comforts, it is one of never-ending tribal wars, of privations and hunger, of sudden dangers, and diseases for which he knows no remedy. Nursed amidst hardships and dangers, and unacquainted with civilized comforts, the barbarian naturally sees malignity, rather than benevolence, in the invisible spirits he conjures up. His imagination is tinged with a sense of ill, and his religion, as bodied forth by his imagination, consists of a dread of evil spirits and their malignity. Long before the grandeur of the rising sun, the beauty of the starry firmament, and the utility of the fertilizing rain strike him, he has learned to dread disease and death and dangers, or rather the deities

whom he believes to be their cause. Veneration, love, gratitude and other feelings which enter into the religions of civilized life have little or no place in barbarian faiths, developed by a fear-stricken imagination and bodying forth objects of fear.

There is yet another feature which belongs to primitive religions. The first conception of religion, as we have already seen, arises from a tendency to suppose an actor in every instance in which an action arouses our feeling, and the barbarian sees in the roaring wind, the bursting thunder and the lashing tempest, not the various manifestations of the wrath of one deity, but the agencies of a variety of angry gods. It is only after a considerable advance in civilization that the mind is capable of discovering, faintly and dimly at first, a harmony in the various phenomena of nature, and attributes such shifting events to one being. Belief, therefore, in a plurality of spirits or beings, is inevitable in the earliest stages of barbarism, and this number is often not inconsiderable. A plurality of dreaded spirits is thus the earliest form of religion, and even among civilized nations, religion among the ignorant masses often consists of much the same idea—a belief in ghosts and spirits who should be dreaded, shunned, and propitiated. And as the barbarian is the progenitor of the civilized man, so in the realm of religion, *i.e.*, of human imagination, ghosts and evil spirits are the earliest progenitors of the gods and goddesses of later days.*

If we turn to the religions of some of the most barbarous races in the world, we shall see how strictly these principles hold good. The life of the Australian is often one long tissue of wars, privations and dangers; and his imagination, tinged with a sense of ill, bodies forth images of fear. He has no belief in one supreme being, but has vague notions of spirits incapable of doing good and bent on persecuting man. The dreaded Arlak is seen at night only and seizes and carries away stragglers, and the powerful Bunyiss, like a horse or a giraffe in shape, infests woods and vast solitudes. Death itself is a short thick ugly demon, and all meteors are spirits. Demons infest the forests and every corner of the land, and are ever bent on causing misfortunes, and every misfortune, accordingly, including disease and sudden death, is attributed to the power possessed by hostile tribes over demons. Such misfortunes must be avenged on those tribes, and hence spring fresh and unending wars and feuds.

* Sir John Lubbock, one of the greatest authorities states:—"We regard the deity as good, they (barbarians) look upon him as evil; we submit ourselves to him; they endeavour to obtain the control over him; we feel the necessity of accounting for the blessings by which we are surrounded; they think the blessings come of themselves and attribute all evil to the interference of malignant beings".—

In few places, in the present day, is man found in such a barbarous and wretched state as in Australia; and seldom, therefore, does the element of fear so entirely pervade religion as in Australia. Yet in every barbarous country fear is still the predominant feeling in religious beliefs, and even in more civilized faiths, fear of deities is inculcated. Hence a belief in evil spirits who are dreaded and must be propitiated, is universal among barbarian races. Magicians and medicine men and rain-makers operate on the fears and superstitions of people who dread disease and drought, but know no remedy for them, and sorcery and witchcraft, which have prevailed even in civilized times, also have a similar origin. Still, as we proceed to an examination of less barbarous societies, where men possess greater resources, enjoy greater comfort, where life is more settled and less liable to sudden dangers, we find that, though fear still continues to be the prominent feeling, other feelings have also come into play, and hope and even gratitude and love enter into the more advanced conceptions of religion. The imagination is less oppressed than before with a sense of ill, and, under the behests of less dismal feelings, bodies forth pleasanter deities and pleasanter faiths. Thus in the hierarchy of gods we find some that are evil and some that are good, and both to be propitiated, through gratitude or fear. Slowly as the comforts of life preponderate over its evils and dangers, the benevolent gods are conceived as more powerful than the evil ones, until we come to our modern conception of death and Satan being completely subdued and conquered by the supreme Good.

Thus, if we examine the religions of the islanders of the Pacific Ocean,* we find the New Zealanders, considerably more civilized, than the Australians, entertaining notions of good, as well as of bad, influences, the former named Atna, the latter Wairna. These notions are still very hazy; and Atna may mean a god, a lizard, a bird, a cloud, or a pleasant ray of the sun,—a compass, a barometer or a watch,—whatever strikes the imagination and pleases the mind. Priests, or Tohungas, offer prayers to the invisible Atna, they perform religious rites, offer vegetable and animal food to Atna, and put on or remove that sacred order of prohibition known throughout Polynesia as Tapu. Their other duties are to heal the sick, attend at funerals, births &c., to tatoo persons, instruct young men in songs and traditions, advise in war and interpret omens; and it is the priests, too, who are the best orators and artists in New Zealand. On the other

*Many of these barbarous races have now been civilized under European influence. In the present article we shall speak of them as they were when first visited by navigators and travellers.

hand there are the bad influences, the Wairna, who haunt lonely spots and graves. The distant mountain tops strike the New Zealander's imagination with fear, and the New Zealander never approaches them, believing them to be the haunts of the Wairnas.

Hope, however, has already a very perceptible influence on imagination, and the New Zealander conceives the Rangir, or the vast blue sky, and the Reinga, or the sea, to be the homes of departed spirits. Among the multiplicity of gods, one is believed to be supreme and the others subordinate, an idea far in advance of the Australian notion of a multiplicity of malignant spirits, without order or rank.

The Tahitans, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of the Society Islands, believe in a variety of gods more feared than loved ; but yet the feeling of hope has already entered into the spirit of their religion and painted for them a heaven of delights. Oro, the god of war, is the most important and the most dreaded, and is represented as eating the bodies of dead men. Hiro, the god of theft and plunder, is invoked by the chief going to war as well as by the menial servant who wishes to steal ; while Tone is another god and has a temple of its own. War, industries, amusements are all presided over by distinct gods, and some birds and fishes are among the animal objects of worship. The Tahitans are idolators and offer human sacrifices before going to war, and their superstition is very great. Every illness, as well as death, is believed to be caused by direct supernatural agency, for crime against Tapu, or in consequence of offerings made to some god by one's enemy ; and the earth is supposed to be swarming with spirits, watching every action and ready to avenge the slightest disobedience to their injunctions as explained by priests. Tahitan imagination conjures up a heaven, somewhere near a stupendous mountain in Raiatea, invisible to mortal eyes ;—a most enchanting country, decked with flowers and perfumed with fragrance, and teeming with every form of enjoyment to be found in this earth.

The Samoans, or the inhabitants of Navigator's Islands, also believe in a variety of gods, and believe ulcers, dropsy and inflammation of the abdomen, special judgments of gods for concealed thieving, adultery and other crimes. Scarcity of food is traced to the anger of gods, and mischievous gods are supposed to molest women in their sleep and produce supernatural conceptions. Too much rain as well as drought is ascribed to a stone god, which is put into the fire when there is too much rain, and dipped in water in droughts ; and every bush, is supposed to swarm with spirits. As in the Society Islands, hope inspires imagination, and the Samoan heaven is a place of enjoyment where a separate place is assigned to chiefs, who have plenty of the best food and other indulgences.

The Samoans believe in a tutelary god presiding over each individual, and offer cooked food to their gods in temples.

The imagination of the Fijian has in the same way conjured up for him a multiplicity of gods,—gods of different professions ; gods of special localities ; a god to preside over each individual. Every spot that strikes the imagination has a local deity ; the lonely dale, the gloomy cave, the desolate rock, the deep forest are all peopled by the Fijian imagination with invisible spirits. In every village there is at least one Buré, or temple, besides which there are sacred groves and sacred trees, and sacred stones and monoliths representing the generative principle of procreation. Ndeuger is the chief deity, who has sons and grandsons. Rokora is the god of carpenters, Ove is the maker of men, and Ratumainchulu causes fruits to blossom and makes seasons fruitful. The imagination is a reproductive, not a creative, faculty ; into our conceptions of deities, enter no new virtues, no new attributes, but only those with which we are acquainted ; and human ideas of deities must ever be a reproduction,—an embodiment of human attributes. The Fijians, like other men, imagine their gods to be like men in their feelings and actions, and even in their frailties. Fijian gods tumble from boats, are picked up, and sit shivering with cold ; they are, like Fijians, adulterers, women stealers, brain-eaters, murderers, wife-killers. Fear seems among the Fijians the only motive for religious observances, belief in witchcraft has the strongest influence, and offerings and sacrifices are made to propitiate malicious spirits. Yet the Fijians are, comparatively speaking, advanced in civilization, and are familiar with the comforts and pleasures of life, and the influence of hope on their religion is no less conspicuous than that of fear. The belief in a future state is firm and universal ; and not only men but animals, plants, houses and canoes have souls. In that future world, hope fondly conjures up plenty of every sort of enjoyment, of sailing and fishing, of eating and of sport. These islanders believe heaven to be situated in another island, and there is a ferryman who conducts departed spirits to that island across the ocean. Tatooed women only are admitted ; and bachelors have no admission, but are destroyed in the way !

In the same way the Toungans believe in a multiplicity of gods, some eternal and others souls of departed spirits. The sense of ill in a polished society is already subordinated to the sense of good, and mischievous gods are imagined less powerful than benevolent gods. Yet death is attributed to the power of gods, and all evil is ascribed to the anger of benevolent gods or the malignity of evil spirits. Almost every god has a separate temple ; there are three classes of priests, and they are consulted

before every important undertaking, and children are strangled as sacrifices to propitiate gods for the recovery of the sick. The Tougan heaven is a place of delights to which the men of high rank only have admittance, the peasantry have no chance! Balotoo, or heaven, is adorned with lovely flowers, choice fruits, and pigs that never die. Each flower or fruit that is plucked, and each pig that is killed, are instantly replaced by others which suddenly come into existence. A tropical imagination, inspired by hope, has painted for the Tougans a heaven almost rivalling in beauty the creations of the Greek imagination.

The Dyaks of Borneo are almost a civilized race, probably because of their intercourse with the Malays and ancient Hindus; and have filled the heavens and earth with imaginary beings. Batora is the chief deity, and created mankind; Tenabi created the earth and lower animals; Jirong is the lord of life and death; and Jang taught religion to the Dyaks. After these come innumerable inferior gods, capable of assuming the form of man or animal, swarming the country and forests and doing mischief or good to man according to their bent and inclination. Every disease is a conscious spirit, and epidemics are formidable spirits whom it is vain to resist. Thus the same idea which we have found among the utter barbarians of Australia appears in a modified form among all barbarian peoples, and even among the polished Dyaks; only that the sense of ill is, in polished societies, subordinated to the sense of security and good; and above a host of mischievous spirits or gods we find a good being like Batora presiding. Every phenomenon, every accident, every small incident in domestic life is attributed to Antus, or inferior spirits, and evil and good spirits are propitiated alike with offerings. Traces of the Hindu religion are to be found in Borneo, and in the superstition of the Dyaks are strangely blended the rites of the Hindus and of the eastern Polynesians.

The religions of Java and Sumatra bear still more distinct traces of the influence of the Hindu religion. In Java every village has its priest who foretells lucky and unlucky days and lives on contributions from the peasantry in rice. In Sumatra there are *gurus* (a pure Sanscrit word), or priests, who administer oaths, foretell lucky and unlucky days, make sacrifices and perform funeral rites. Sacrifice of kids is offered for good harvests. Belief in metempsychosis prevails, and tigers are supposed to be animated by departed spirits. One deity is supposed by the Battos to hold rule in heaven, another in air, and a third on earth; and besides these there are a vast number of inferior spirits to whom every accident, every evil is attributed. Jin and Deva are the words used to imply these spirits;—the one being an Arabic and the other a Sanscrit word.

We have dwelt on the religions of most of the important islands in the world which are inhabited by barbarians. It would answer no useful purpose, and might tire our readers, should we examine in detail the religions of the numerous races of barbarians inhabiting Africa and the two Americas. Enough has already been said to indicate the natural origin and progress of religion, and we need not therefore multiply illustrations.

The above illustrations shew how a study of barbarian life at once explains the origin of that vast and complicated phenomenon which in some shape or other appears in every age and in every country. Religion has at once been the puzzle of philosophers and the triumph of priests;—its universality, its solemn and unique character, baffled all attempts at explanation, until within the last few centuries, when we were first made familiar with the earlier and simpler phases of this institution. The mystery which even the greatest philosophers of antiquity and the acutest reasoners of the middle ages approached with reverence and dread, slowly vanishes in the light shed by a study of barbarian life, and we clearly discern the origin, the course, the development of religion. We see how those feelings and intellectual faculties from which religion has sprung, exist in a feeble state in the brute mind; how the first crude beginnings of religion assume the same aspect in animals as in the barbarian. We see that while the feeling in brutes is momentary and undefined, it is more developed and lasting in man; that the conception of an animate actor in every instance that an action strikes our imagination is vague in brutes and dies away soon, but lives in the more developed human mind and assumes new forms under new circumstances. We see how, with a reasoning faculty far more developed than in the brute creation, the barbarian is enabled to judge from experience that every effect has a cause, every action has an actor; and he naturally supposes actors whenever an action strikes his attention, be it the flashing lightning or the bursting thunder, the echoing chasm, or the creaking, dark forest, the disease that prostrates him or the sudden death that appals him. With an imagination far more developed than that of brutes, he is enabled to ascribe qualities to these actors,—attributes which he most values, fierceness and strength in stages of utter barbarism, justice and mercy in the more advanced states of society. Imagination has ever been the handmaid of the most predominant feelings, and has bodied forth deities under the behests of fear and hope, gratitude and love. And thus, by a combined exercise of the intellectual and emotional faculties, primitive man has developed that great phenomenon, called religion.

We see how in barbarian society the sense of ill predominates over the sense of good, and imagination, inspired by fear, conjures up spirits of a malignant character, ever seeking to do mischief to man. This sense of ill is subordinated to a sense of security and comfort in more civilized societies, and mischievous deities are therefore imagined to be less powerful than the benevolent; until in highly civilized countries, the supreme deity is universally represented as good, wise, and merciful. Other notions follow in the train of this one. Whoever wishes to please, makes gifts, soothes with flattering words, and pleads with humility. Whoever wishes to appease anger, kneels or prostrates himself, disgraces himself, makes gifts, or seeks to excite pity by voluntary infliction of pain; these practices are known to the barbarian, as to civilized man, and these practices when done with reference to an invisible deity, at once translate themselves into religious observances—worship or sacrifice. Imagination is but a reproductive faculty, the primitive man conceives deities with only human attributes magnified, and he imagines them to be pleased and appeased in the same way as men. Entreaties are transformed into prayers, flattery into praise, gifts into religious offerings or sacrifices, and self-prostration and infliction of pain assume greater proportions. And when he has done that by which a fellow man would be appeased or pleased, he believes that the invisible deity is also pleased or appeased.

The idea of a future state is equally familiar to barbarians. There is no state of society, however civilized, in which diseases and griefs do not torment us, discomforts and misery do not assail us. From these evils of life the brute has no escape. No more has the barbarian, but, with more highly developed faculties, imagination and hope, he can at least believe in pleasures unknown to the animal kingdom. Imagination, inspired by hope, creates for him a refuge from present ills, a place where the pleasures of life exist without its evils. All that is pleasurable in this world,—sailing, fishing, sport, fruits, flowers, pigs to the Fijians and Tongans, virgin forests and plenty of buffaloes and hunting grounds to the North American Indian, wine and lovely women to the sensual Arabian, rest and freedom from the ills and accidents of life to the contemplative and mild Hindu, have been conjured up by the imagination as the heaven which all hope to reach after the troubles of this life. Qualities which are useful to society in any particular stage of civilization, are those which in that stage we are most willing to see developed, and therefore fondly believe will be rewarded in heaven. Bravery and the killing of enemies are believed to be the objects of future reward in rude and warlike societies, in which these qualities

are the most useful. In more civilized society saving is found more beneficial than killing, and charity, benevolence, sincerity and rectitude are therefore believed to be the objects of reward in heaven.

We have already seen that deities change their character with the state of society and the feelings of the race by whom they are worshipped. As society is more and more organized round one central authority, be it the chief, the king, or the warrior, our conceptions of deities also cluster round one chief deity. Here, too, imagination but reproduces human institutions. Thus most of the Polynesian islanders believe in a chief deity, and the American Indians, besides believing in a large number of evil spirits, worship one great spirit, the giver of all that is good, maize, tobacco and buffaloes. In course of time many of the evils from which we suffer are explained by natural causes with the increase of knowledge, and the spirits which were supposed to cause diseases and evils, disappear therefore one by one. In the various phenomena of nature, too, we begin to detect a harmony which escaped the utter barbarian, we observe a uniformity in the operation of laws, we dimly descry a unity in the manifestations of nature, suggestive of unity in the cause. And so, with the advance of civilization, polytheism is transformed into monotheism. Thus monotheism is a natural result of increase in knowledge, of a certain degree of comprehension of the laws of nature, in one word, of advanced civilization.

We are now in a position to detect the hollowness of the theory of those theologians and thinkers who believe that the earliest religion of man was the worship of one God, which was gradually corrupted into polytheism and idolatry. We find, on the contrary, that during the first stage of human barbarism, religion consists in a belief in innumerable evil spirits, swarming every nook and corner of the earth. Fear is a stronger feeling than hope, or love, or gratitude; barbarian life is replete with sudden accidents, dangers and evils, and these strike the barbarian imagination long before other feelings begin to operate. It is the echoing mountains, the dark impenetrable forests, the storm, thunder, and lightning, the excruciating disease, the sudden death, that inspire the barbarian imagination, long before the beauty of the summer field, or the starry heaven can make any deep impression, and religion with them consists therefore in a belief in spirits who cause these evils, inhabiting the deep chasm, the dark woods, or the lofty mountains. Such is necessarily the first stage of human religion.

With the progress of civilization, society is developed; some sort of organized government is introduced; many of the evils and accidents of life are averted by prudence and foresight,

and greater happiness and comfort secured. Imagination, now differently influenced, bodies forth religions of a different nature. Some sort of organization is attributed to the society of gods, some deity or deities being conjured up to preside over each department of industry or amusement; and one chief deity answering to the supreme power in the nations' government is imagined as having supreme influence over all. The sense of evil is subordinated to the sense of good; and yet fear continues to exercise a vast influence; good and evil gods are propitiated alike, and most of the religious rites and ceremonies originate with this object: such is what we may call the second stage of human religions. The religions of most of the Polynesian and Asiatic Islanders, of many African nations, and of North and South Americans, as also of the Greeks of the age of Homer, and the Romans of early times belong to this stage.

Later on, when many of the accidents are traced to their natural causes, when with the increase of knowledge some sort of harmony and unity is dimly detected in the various manifestations of nature; then, and then only, is monotheism possible. Belief in one God supplants the worship of a number of deities, and as civilization has already secured for man comforts and security from dangers, in an advanced degree, that one God is represented as a principle of good who has completely triumphed over evil. This is the last stage (not the first as imagined by theologians) of human religion, and the conception of this lofty idea in all its purity is possible only to the educated and better classes even of those nations who are generally designated as monotheists.*

If there is any force in these arguments, it is apparent that primitive religion is the product of human reason, human feelings, and human imagination;—in one word, of the human mind. It follows therefore that in every stage of society and civilization, religion conforms itself to the state of the mind. Every page of history teems with proofs to shew that the same religion has constantly changed its character with every change in the state of society and therefore of mind. We are all familiar with the different phases which Christianity has undergone under different conditions of society; how the religion of peace led to the most destructive religious wars when embraced by rude and warlike barons, how, in an age of the grossest ignorance, it translated itself virtually in to poly-

* Readers of Comte's *Positive Polity* will see that an examination of barbarian life brings us to the three stages of religion as defined by Comte, viz., Fetichism, Polytheism and Mono-

theism. We differ from that great philosopher only in so far that we hold that the first stage is not always Fetichism, but a belief in a plurality of evil spirits.

theism by multiplying the number of saints to whom prayers were addressed and of demons whom it was necessary to avoid ; and how even in the present age it is almost pure monotheism with educated Englishmen and almost pure idolatry in southern countries like Italy and Spain. We shall now pass to the religion of another country to illustrate the same truth, *viz.*, that religion necessarily changes its character to adapt itself to every varying state of human society, and therefore of the human mind. If we select the religion of India, it is because, in spite of what historians and antiquarians have stated, India appears to us to be the one country in the world, of which history in its truest sense has been preserved during the longest period ;—and in which every change in society, every advance in civilization, during a period of several thousands of years, has been preserved in imperishable records,—so clear, so unmistakable as to their purport and significance, that he who runs may read.

The earliest records that we possess represent the Hindus as a race of conquerors who had come from the North, conquered the aborigines, and settled on the banks of the five rivers in the extreme North-West of India. Their civilization was not of a very polished character ; their institutions and customs had not yet developed themselves into settled and cumbrous forms. On the contrary a patriarchal simplicity pervaded the life and actions of the first conquerors ; the head of each family tilled his lands, tended his cattle, worshipped his deities, and fought his battles against the aborigines. We may almost conceive them to have been like the ancient patriarchs of whom we read in the Bible, settled down, with their flocks and large families around them, in groups on the banks of the five rivers, tilling their land in a rude imperfect way, and holding their own with their strong right arm against the aborigines. Pasturage and an imperfect sort of tilling were their means of support, and some arts in their elementary state, weaving, carpentry, boat-building, distilling liquors, and even working in metals were known to them.

The religion of this race of simple and patriarchal conquerors was such as suited their state of society and mind. The idea of one god is, as we have seen before, the result of a certain advance in knowledge and generalization, and was not yet possible to the early Aryans. In their ignorance they rather imagined a living actor in every striking natural phenomenon which arrested their imagination. "The rising sun, dispelling darkness and vivifying the earth. Indra hurling the thunder and shaking the earth and the heavens and compelling the reluctant clouds (so it was believed) to give rain for the good of men ; Varuna, or the sky, eternally bending over the fertile earth, always changing in

light and shade, yet eternally the same ; the beauteous moon, fire, air, and the elements, these and deities like these, were invoked to bestow health and comfort, to increase the cattle and prosper the crops, and above all, to help the white men (Aryans) against the black aborigines (Dasyus) in the great war which continued for ages, and which ended in the conquest of the whole of India by the nobler race." Simplicity, boldness and fervency, pervade the hymns of this race of simple and bold warriors : each patriarch looked with respect and awe on the unrivalled grandeur of a tropical heaven, and as imagination bodied forth deities in the objects of his wonder and admiration, he offered sacrifices to the sun or the moon and craved for blessings on himself, his children, his race and his flocks, and death and confusion to his foe. We see in this religion neither the sense of ill which characterizes the religions of utter savages, nor the conception of one deity which enters into the belief of races more advanced in knowledge than the early Aryans of India.

When the first onset of battle was over, and the Aryans obtained a secure footing in India, some relaxation of the mind appears to have ensued, and the *Brahmanas* present us with a picture of a society more enervated than the *Sanhitas*. Rites and ceremonies had multiplied and the simplicity of the earlier religion was partly lost. The next records that we have, the *Upanishads*, shew reviving vigour, and a perceptible advance in knowledge, and, in place of rude warriors, we find earnest enquirers, delighting in lofty contemplations and daring investigations into the sources of creation and the mysteries of religion and philosophy. We have seen before that advancement in knowledge is invariably accompanied with the exchange of polytheism for monotheism ; as soon as a harmony, a unity is detected in the various manifestations of the powers of nature, the mind conceives a unity in the cause. So it was in India, and in the *Vedanta* we find the first distinct conception of the idea of one true God.

We have also observed before that pure monotheism is possible only to those few who are advanced in knowledge and capable of detecting a unity in the laws of nature. To the vast majority of people, polytheism is the natural religion. So it was in India ; and the ancient literature therefore bears impress of this two-fold faith,—the faith of the learned and the faith of the people—monotheism, and polytheism. It is indeed a pleasure to peruse in the true spirit the records left to us by the ancient Hindus, for in them we find every change in religion, every advance in civilization, every varying shade in thought pictured with a distinctness and completeness, such as we may in vain seek for among any other nation in the globe. The natural out-pourings of the mind have been recorded

age after age ; and while the careless student complains that there is no order in them, that they have never been digested and reduced to order. or formed into one continued history of the nation, the philosophical enquirer detects in them the truest order and the completest history that any nation could have ; for it is the order in which the mind has slowly progressed age after age : it is the history of a people who have gradually advanced from a stage of a semi-barbarism to one of enlightenment. There is no gap ; nothing has been concealed from us, every stage of civilization, every stage in the progress of the mind has, as it were, thrown out its reflexion, which has been preserved to us after those stages of civilization and mind have passed away.

Polytheism and monotheism exist together in nations advanced in knowledge ; in India we find records of both, existing side by side. Alongside of the *Vedanta* which represents the faith of the advanced few, we find numerous records of the faith of the people. A tropical imagination had conjured up a host of gods and goddesses to people the heavens, who were invoked at every social or religious ceremony by the people. Nothing was too noble or too ridiculous ; nothing too great or too little for imagination to comprehend, and poets described, and people believed in, endless stories and myths connected with the birth, and marriage, and deeds of the gods they worshipped. As often, however, as the poet falls into a philosophical mood, he comes back to monotheism, describes the various gods and goddesses as different representations of the one eternal god ; but then he starts off again and describes for the people what the people can comprehend. Saints and philosophers and reformers who have reflected seriously and worked earnestly, have again and again returned to monotheism ; the people have, however, clung to polytheism. Even to the present day the most educated among the orthodox Hindus believe the various objects of worship to be the manifestations of one god, but believe this plurality necessary for the apprehension of the ignorant. Thus monotheism and polytheism have from ancient times flowed in a mingled stream in the records of India, even as those faiths exist in a mingled state in the minds of people in every country advanced in civilization. While in other countries the faith of the enlightened is alone preached and protected by the State and represented in records, the records of ancient India faithfully reflect both the faith of the few and the faith of the many, the conception of one god and the conception of many gods.

Another feature in the religion of India which has excited the attention of modern enquirers is the caste system which did not exist in the Vedic times, but came into vogue later. Like religion, this institution was only a natural out-come of a state of

Indian society more advanced than that of the Vedic times. "Division of labor is always seen to progress with the progress of civilization. Each barbarian warrior is often found to build his fishing boat, to make his arrows and to sew his clothes : but with the progress of civilization, fighting and ship-building, tailoring and arrow-making become different departments of industry. Something of the sort must have taken place with the Hindus as they progressed in civilization, and something of what took place has been left to us. In the Vedic times the patriarch tended his flocks and tilled his lands, fought his battles and worshipped his gods. But as the struggle for conquest and even for existence thickened, the art of war improved and men found it necessary to devote their life-time to the learning of war. But the worship of the ancient gods could not be given up altogether and so the warriors found it expedient to offer up prayers, not personally but through sages and learned men,—in a word through professional priests. As a natural consequence, while all real power remained with the warriors, the *Kshatriyas*, who were the kings all over India, the priests or *Brahmans* assumed loftier functions, and, moved by a strong *esprit de corps*, multiplied rites and religious observances, till it actually became impossible for any one to perform such rites except such as had devoted their life-time to the subject. This division was not brought about in a day ; long disputes and civil wars, of which we find obscure but certain records in the *Upanishads* as well as in some ancient myths, were carried on between the *Kshatriyas* and the *Brahmans* before the latter gave up all real power and the former allowed priests to domineer in religious matters. The common people continued to till the lands and tend the flocks, and as trade and commerce were developed with the progress of civilization, rose in influence and formed a new class, the *Vaisyas* ; while those of the aborigines, who, driven to the last extreme of misery, at last gave up their hitherto unconquered independence, and consented to serve under the stern conquerors, were treated with a rigour proportionate to the long hostility that had been carried on, and formed the low class or caste of *Sudras*."

Such, we believe, is the simple and true origin of the caste system of India, about which so many big and fictitious theories have been framed by philosophers and antiquarians. The distinction between different trades and professions is well marked in all countries and even in Western Europe, where the life of nations is one of continuous activity and change, a well-born lady will not willingly marry a person of the trading classes. Is it a wonder that among ancient and patriarchal nations, the Egyptians, the Indians, &c., this distinction should be still more marked

and defined? Repose in the tropics is a luxury; change or effort, a pain. The son would in such a country follow his father's profession, more consistently than among more active nations; and the distinctions, marked enough in Europe, would naturally become hereditary in India. Thus, in every aspect the religions of India were the out-come of the states of society and mind during different periods, and the caste system is no exception to the rule. As society became yet more advanced and trades and professions multiplied, the number of castes multiplied too and increased from four to several scores.

We have not space to dwell upon the different phases which Indian society passed through;—the different stages in the progress of the Hindu mind. A complete study of Indian history would shew still more clearly that in every stage of society religion is the out-come of the existing state of the national mind and civilization. We pass over, therefore, the long periods of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, of the Budhistic reaction and its decay, of the slow degeneration which followed, and which is reflected in the pages of *Kalidasa*. We come at once to the last degenerated state of the Hindu mind and society. The *Puranas* were commenced before the Mahomedan conquest and were continued, it is supposed, for centuries after; and the *Tantras* were probably entirely written in Mahomedan times. The Hindus now were a subject race, and had been subjected to the degenerating influences of foreign rule. With freedom they had lost all the bold aspirations which marked their ancestors; they were incapable of effort physical or moral. The nation was demoralized, and the religion was demoralized too with the national mind. Polytheism and idolatry assumed their worst features; superstitious practices multiplied; dark and even obscene maxims crept into religion, and the *Puranas* and *Tantras* bear distinct traces of the degeneracy and demoralization which overtook conquered Hindus.

Thus in every stage of Hindu civilization we find religion shaped by the state of society for the time being. We could proceed with our illustration yet further and shew that even in different parts of India the same Hindu religion assumes different aspects according to the different shades of feeling which characterize different races. We could shew that from a vast store-house of deities, as it were, each race selects for its special worship those who accord with its predilections and habitudes of thought; that the great warrior god Rama, and his stalwart companion Hanuman are the favorite objects of worship among the tall and warlike peasantry of Behar and the North-West; that a tender-hearted goddess, mother Umā, is the most favorite object of worship with the weak people of Bengal; that the same Umā is

a warrior goddess with the brave Rajputs of Mewar and elsewhere, and used to be worshipped at the commencement of the season of wars and invasions ; and that the Cashmerians pay worship to the god of Kailasa, whose image is daily presented to their eyes in the peaks and snows of the everlasting mountains.

Such are the lessons which an examination of barbarian life, as well as the traditions of ancient civilized races, teaches us regarding the origin and progress of religion. A phenomenon so important, so striking, so universal, could not fail to arrest the attention of every thinker, and yet all speculation as regards its origin was fruitless, and in ancient times everywhere, therefore, religion was supposed to be based on divine agency and inspiration. This sublime error melts before us as we study the life of barbarians and trace the great institution to its humble beginnings. And yet, without the study of barbarian life to help us, we should no more imagine the gorgeous and sublime religions of the civilized world to have sprung from such simple beginnings, than a child would believe the thundering cascade to have sprung from small and slender threads of water,—so slender that he might stop them or turn their course at his will.

ART. II.—THE MUSIC OF HINDUSTAN.

MUCH has of late been written by Dr. Sourindro Mohun Tagore and others on this subject, yet much more requires to be written, not only to set forth and explain what they have omitted to set forth or explain, but also to correct numerous errors, the *vraisemblance* of which may be taken for truth by unwary readers, and may, therefore, prejudice them against the music of Hindustan and thus throw obstacles in the way of its revival.

The nature of the Hindu-music in Vedic times is almost unknown to us, there not being sufficient on record to throw a clear light on the subject. What little we learn of it, is that the Vedas were used to be sung in notes called *Udátta* (उदात्त), *Anudátta* (अनुदात्त), and *Svarita* (स्वरित). But what these notes are, I do not clearly understand. Dr. Sourindro Mohun Tagore and his followers say, apparently without authority, that the three terms *Udátta*, *Anudátta* and *Svarita* signify the Upper, the Lower and the Middle Heptachord of the Hindus, respectively. If this be true, I cannot understand why, to signify the 3 Heptachords, the words *Tára* (तार), *Mandra* (मन्द) and *Madhya* (मध्य) were invariably used in all such musical treatises in Sanskrit as we have had access to, and why no mention of the words *Udátta*, *Anudátta* and *Svarita* was made in any of them. Besides, I cannot imagine how there could occur such frequent and long skipping up and down over entire Heptachord in the solemn recitation of the Vedas. The definitions of the latter three terms, as given in *Shikshá-Sástra*, first quoted by me in my last article in the *Saturday Evening Journal* and then by my learned friend Babu Rámdoss Sen in *A'rya-Darsana*—if relied upon, would lead me to conclude that the words designate three different kinds of tones. But it is a question whether I can rely on these definitions, when they are at variance with what are given by ancient lexicographers and grammarians, and when I do not find a single word anywhere else to support them. Pánini, the distinguished Grammarian, and some lexicographers, give us ideas of these three terms, enveloped in such obscure expressions as only enable us to guess, and guess only that they are relative terms applied to notes. When a note was acuter than another preceding it, the acuter was called *Udátta*, and the graver, *Anu-*

dātta, and a note succeeding another of the same pitch was named *Svarita*. *Svarita* admits of no variety, whereas the other two admit of many, according to the different degrees of pitch. I am not in a position to say whether these varieties were recognized or not in those days; and if recognized, whether they were differently named, or called by the same name like the flats and sharps of each of the seven notes.

After what has been stated above, I cannot but be silent with regard to music in the Vedic times. One thing, however, I should not omit to mention here. It is that, in Vedic period, three different degrees of time called by the names of *Hrasva* (ऋक्), *Dīrgha*, (दीर्घ) and *Pluta*, (प्लुत) meaning short, long, and triple respectively, contributed to rhythm.

After the Vedic-period, music appears to have been well cultivated, as the few ancient Sanskrit treatises that have come down to us sufficiently testify.

Among the many *savants* who improved the art, and laid down rules for the guidance of others, I cite the names of the following :—

Sadās'iva, Brahmā S'iva, Dūrgā, S'akti,
Nandikēs'vara, Ravana, Ilāhā, Huhu, Ananta
Kambala, As'vatara, Nārada, Bharata,
Matanga, Kās'yapa, Tumburu, S'ómēs'vara,
Rambhā, Indra, Pavana, Hanumāna, Dattila,
S'andūla, Bis'ākhila, Kohala, Bis'vasasū, Arjuna, Ushā,
Rāhala, Bhoja, Durjaya, S'ankuka, S'ārngadēva.

Some of their works on music are still extant, and if rightly understood, will, no doubt enlighten inquisitive readers. But it is much to be regretted that most of the passages therein have been often misunderstood and mis-interpreted (as I shall presently have occasion to show). Such misinterpretations are due chiefly to the following circumstances :—

- (1) The many typographical errors in these treatises, arising from numerous repeated transcriptions by illiterate copyists.
- (2) The interpreters' want of sufficient command of the Sanskrit language.
- (3) Their want of knowledge of the common principles of music in general.

And last, not least, their own wrong pre-posessions on the subject.

The ancient *savants* fixed all their *svaras* (स्वर)—which mean notes—within the compass of 3 octaves. Leaving the 8th note, they called the *Diapason* a *saptaka* (सप्तक), which means

"*Heptachord*,"—on account of its having only seven notes in the gamut. The lower, the middle and the upper *saptakas* were termed *Mandra-Saptaka* (मन्द्रसप्तक), *Madhya-Saptaka* (मध्यसप्तक) and *Tāra-Saptaka* (तारसप्तक), respectively. They were of opinion that the vibrations of the notes in the *Tāra-Saptaka* were double in number of those in the *Madhya-Saptaka*, which were also double of those of the *Mandra-Saptaka*, and the lengths of string producing the sounds were inversely proportional to the numbers of vibrations. They hence gave the technical name "*Dviguna*" (द्विगुण), which means double, to the same note when an octave higher. This proves that in ages so far back as these, the laws of vibrating strings were, to a certain extent, known and utilized in India. The President of the "Bengal Music School," in explaining the "*Dviguna*" in his "Six Principal Rāgas" confounded *pitch* with *intensity*. He also made frequent use of the word "*Grāma*" (ग्राम), which means *scale* or *gamut*, for "*Saptaka*."

The seven notes were named by the Ancients as follow viz :—

1st <i>Sharja</i>	... (षड्ज)	or	...	<i>Sa</i>	(स)
2nd <i>Rishabha</i>	... (ऋषभ)	or	...	<i>Ri</i>	(रि)
3rd <i>Gāndhāra</i>	... (गांधार)	or	...	<i>Ga</i>	(ग)
4th <i>Madhyama</i>	.. (मध्यम)	or	...	<i>Ma</i>	(म)
5th <i>Panchama</i>	.. (पञ्चम)	or	...	<i>Pa</i>	(प)
6th <i>Dhaibhatu</i>	... (धैवत)	or	...	<i>Dha</i>	(ध)
7th <i>Nishāda</i>	... (निषाद)	or	...	<i>Ni</i>	(नि)

In different scales their different places were fixed by the ancient musicians, who, to do so, had to divide the compass of an octave into minute intervals. Some made twenty-two divisions and others more. The scale of twenty-two divisions was found and pronounced to be the best, as it served the ends in view better than others.

To understand clearly this scale of twenty-two divisions, it is necessary to tune 23 strings, that is, regulate their lengths or their tensions, or both, according to the nature of the strings, so that, on their being "*plucked*", the 23rd must vibrate with twice the rapidity of the first, and each of the strings from the second to the last, more rapidly than that preceding it in a uniform proportion. The first, as a matter of course, must be caused to vibrate neither too rapidly nor too slowly, but with such rapidity as to render its

sound musical. This done, the first twenty-two strings, on being struck one after another, will produce a series of sounds different from one another in pitch within the compass of a *Saptaka*. These sounds so dividing a *Saptaka* into minute divisions were called *S'rutis* (श्रुति) of that *Saptaka*. The last string, when plucked, will yield another sound, which is acuter than the rest. This sound is the first *S'ruti* of the next *Saptaka* above, and is, as we have just stated, called "*Dvigoona*" in relation to the *s'ruti* or sound produced from the first string. The Ancients assigned a name to each of the twenty-two *s'rutis*. ✓

The explanation of the 22 *s'rutis* as given by Dr. Sourindro Mohun Tagore in his "*Yantra-Kshetra-Deepica*," pages 27 and 28, is quite wrong. He is of opinion, that the series of the numbers of vibrations causing the twenty-two sounds dividing a *Saptaka* in equal parts are in *arithmetical* progression. Assuming thirty-two as the number of vibrations of the first sound in one second, and 64 of its *octave*, he divides (64—32) by 22 (the number of *s'rutis* or divisions in a *Saptaka*, and taking the quotient, $\frac{32}{22}$, or $1\frac{5}{11}$, gives us then to understand that the vibrations of each of the sounds (except the first) are more numerous than those of the sound preceding it, by $1\frac{5}{11}$. This he calls equal temperament. If he had tested his theory by practical experiment, he should have easily found out his own mistake, and therefore would not have needed to be told that the series of the numbers of vibrations causing sounds to divide a *Saptaka* in equal parts are never in *arithmetical* but always in *geometrical*, progression.

The ancient musicians, after thus dividing a *Saptaka* into twenty-two parts, fixed the seven notes in different places to construct different *grāmas* (gamuts or scales). Assuming the sound of the 4th string for *Sa*, and those of the 7th, 9th, 13th, 17th, 20th, and 22nd strings for the remaining six notes *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha*, and *Ni*, respectively, they formed their principal scale called *Shar-jagrāma* (षड्जग्राम). In India, even in those ancient times, there seems to have been no standard-pitch. They used to assume any sound at pleasure for *Sa*, as we do at present. The rest of the notes—*Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha* and *Ni*, are relative to *Sa*, and to each other and ought not to be arbitrarily fixed. They must be placed so as to bring out the order of intervals peculiar to the "*Grāma*" (scale) they were intended to constitute. In the *Shar-jagrāma*, *Ri* is produced from the third string after the one producing the sound assumed for *Sa*, *Ga* is produced from the second after that of *Ri*, *Ma* from the fourth after that of *Ga*, *Pa* from the fourth after that of *Ma*, *Dha* from the third after that of *Pa*, and *Ni* from the second after that of *Dha*.

These notes were called "*S'uddhasvaras*" (सुद्धस्वर) which means perfect notes. In the 3rd column of the annexed Diagram No. 1 an attempt has been made to illustrate what is stated above.

These notes were generalized into three heads in regard to the divisions or intervals existing between each of the notes and its preceding one. *Sa*, *Ma* and *Pa*, being four *s'rutis* above the notes *Ni* (of the lower *Saptaka*,) and *Ga* and *Ma* respectively, are called *Chatus'rutica-svaras* (चतुःश्रुतिकस्वर), *Ri* and *Dha*, being three *s'rutis* above *Sa* and *Pa* respectively, are called *Tris'ruticasvaras* (त्रिश्रुतिकस्वर), and the notes *Ga* and *Ni*, being two *s'rutis* above *Ri* and *Dha* respectively, are called *Dvis'rutica-svaras*. (द्विश्रुतिकस्वर.)

The notes in the European Diatonic scales are also classified under three heads, but in regard to the intervals between each of them and its *succeeding*, not *preceding*, note. These are *major*, *minor* and *semi-tones*. Had they been terms used in regard to the relations which the notes, they are assigned to, bear to those *preceding* them, they would have, very nearly, represented the above "*Chatus'rutica*," "*Tris'rutica*" and "*Dvis'rutica*," respectively.

Pre-formed notions of scales, notes and tones, such as are used in European Music have, to a great extent, prevented Dr. Sourindro Mohun Tagore, Baboo Nobin Chunder Dutt and some others from understanding what the ancient Hindu works on Music say on this subject, and (what I very much regret) led them further to give publicity to such misinterpretations of several important passages from them as are in conformity with these cherished notions. They say that in *Sharjagrāma* *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha*, *Ni* and *Sa* are 4, 3, 2, 4, 4, 3 and 2 *S'rutis* above *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha*, and *Ni*, respectively, and in their opinions, supported by no authorities, "*Chatusrutica*," "*Trisrutica*" and "*Dvis'rutica*" are terms, like "*Major tone*," "*Minor tone*" and "*Semitones*" in European music, assigned to notes in regard to the intervals between each of them and its *succeeding* note. No body will dispute that this arrangement of notes almost tallies with the major mode of the popular Diatonic Scale of Europeans, but I can assure the reader that it is not what the Ancients meant by *Sharjagrāma*. In support of my statement I quote here a few passages from different ancient musical treatises.

“—षड्जचतुःश्रुतिः

स्वायसक्त्वां तुरीयायाष्टवभस्त्रिश्रुतिसतः ।

पञ्चमीतच्छतीयायां गान्धारीद्विश्रुतिसतः

चष्टमीतीक्ष्णीयायां मध्यमीऽथ चतुःश्रुतिः ।

दशमीतश्चतुर्थीं स्वात् पञ्चमीऽथ चतुःश्रुतिः

चतुर्दशीतस्तुर्यायां धैवतस्त्रियुतिसतः ।
अष्टादशाष्टतृतीयायां निषादीद्वियुतिसतः
एकविंशति द्वितीयायाम्—”

Sangita-Ratnākara, by S'árnga-Déva.

—उतस्त्रः युतयो यस्य सम्बन्धिन्यः स चतुःयुतिः षड्जः तुरीयायां चतुर्थ्यां तस्यां
स्थापनीयः । त्रियुतिः ऋषभः सप्तम्याम् । द्वियुतिर्गान्धारी नवम्याम् । चतुःयुतिर्नैष्यमः
तयोदश्याम् । चतुःयुतिः पञ्चमः सप्तदश्याम् । त्रियुतिर्धैवती विंशतितम्याम् । द्वियुतिः
निषादः द्वाविंश्याम् ।—

Commentary on the above, by Sinhabhúpála.

“वेदाचलाङ्गयुतिषु तयोदश्यां युतौ ततः
सप्तदश्याञ्च विंश्याञ्च द्वाविंश्याञ्च युतौ क्रमात्
षड्जादीनां स्थितिः प्रोक्ता प्रथमा भरतादिभिः ।”

Nartana-Nirnaya, by Bitthala.

“वेदाग्नि-पञ्चाग्नि-पयोधि-वक्त्रि-
पक्षान्तिम-शुल्यधिसंश्रिताः स्युः ।
षड्जाभिधानः ऋषभस्ततः स्थात्
गान्धारकोमध्यमपञ्चमौ च ।
ततः परं धैवतको निषाद
इति खराः सप्त मता मुनीन्द्रैः ।”

Rágachandródaya.

“षड्जत्वेन गृहीतो यः षड्जयामे ध्वनिर्भवति
तत्तत्पूर्वं द्वितीयः स्याद्विषमो नात्र संशयः ।
ततो द्वितीयागान्धारश्चतुर्थो मध्यमस्ततः
मध्यमात् पञ्चमस्तद्वत् द्वितीयो धैवतस्ततः ।
निषादीऽतो द्वितीयस्तु ततः षड्जश्चतुर्थकः ।”

Dattila.

I now proceed to explain the other two *grámas* called *Madhyama-gráma* (मध्यमग्राम) and *Gándhāragráma* (गान्धारग्राम), which scales none of my contemporaries, so far as I know, have correctly defined.

Madhyama-grama differs from *Sharja-gráma* in the note *Pa* only, which in the former represents the sound produced from the 16th String, and hence one *S'ruti* lower than in the latter. *Pu*, being thus diminished in pitch in *Madhyamagrama*, becomes a *Tris'rutica-svara*, and *Dha* a *Chatus'rutica-Svara*, whereas in *Sharja-gráma* they are reverse.

Gāndhāra-grāma was that scale, in which *Ga* and *Ni* are *Chatus'rutica*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha* and *Sa* *Tris'rutica*, and *Ri* only is *Dvīs'rutica*. It was said to be used by *Dēvas* only.

These two *grāmas* are illustrated in the 4th and 5th columns respectively of the annexed diagram No 1.

The explanations of these two *Grāmas* also, given by Dr. Sourindro Mohun Tagore in his "Six principal Rāgas," are not only wrong but very misleading owing to the pretension that they are in conformity with the opinions of the ancient authors on Hindu-music, which opinions he does not seem to understand. He holds that the *Madhyama-grāma* and the *Gāndhāra-grāma* are nothing but two transpositions of the *Sharja-grāma*, and that the order of intervals in the series *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha* and *Ni*, of the *Sharja-grāma* is therefore, the same as of those in the series *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha*, *Ni*, *Sa*, *Ri* and *Ga* of the *Madhyama-grāma*, and *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha*, *Ni*, *Sa* and *Ri* of the *Gāndhāra-grāma*.

I give a Diagram over-leaf to enable the reader to see at a glance the difference between the correct rendering of the three *grāmas*, and Dr. Sourindro Mohun Tagore's erroneous rendering of the same. The series of dots represent *S'rutis*, or the strings producing the *S'rutis*, and each perpendicular line points with one end a note, and with the other to the *s'ruti*, or the string, where that note is placed or produced.

The order of Intervals assigned to Sharja Grāma by ancient authorities.	<i>Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa</i>
The order of Intervals erroneously assigned to Sharja Grāma by Dr. S. M. Tagore.	<i>Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa</i>
The order of Intervals assigned to Madhyama Grāma by ancient authorities.	<i>Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma</i>
The order of Intervals erroneously assigned to Madhyama Grāma by Dr. S. M. Tagore.	<i>Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma</i>
The order of Intervals assigned to Gāndhāra Grāma by ancient authorities.	<i>Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga</i>
The order of Intervals erroneously assigned to Gāndhāra Grāma by Dr. S. M. Tagore.	<i>Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga</i>

The following are a few passages from Ancient Musical Works in support of the explanation I have given above of *Madhyama-Grāma* and *Gāndhāra-Grāma* :—

“षड्जयामः पञ्चमे खचतुर्थेऽयुतिसंस्थिते,
स्त्रीपान्त्ययुतिसंस्थेऽस्मिन् मध्यमयाम इष्यते ।
यद्वा धास्त्रयुतिः षड्जं मध्यमे तु चतुःयुतिः ।
रि-मयोः युतिमेकैकां गान्धारश्चेत् समाश्रितः,
प-युतिं धी निषादस्तु ध-युतिं स-युतिं श्रितः,
गान्धारयाममाचष्ट तदा तं नारदीमुनिः ।
प्रवर्त्तते स्वर्गलीके यामीऽसौ न महीतले ॥”

Sangita-Ratnākara, by S'arnga Déva.

“पञ्चमे स्वरे खकौया या चतुर्थी युतिः यस्यामसौ स्थापितः तत्स्थे अविक्रते षड्ज-
यामः । * * * । स्वस्य उपान्त्या या अन्यायाः युतेः समीपे वर्त्तमाना या तृतीया युतिः
तत्र संस्थिते पञ्चमे मध्यमयामो भवति । * * * । धः धैवतः षड्जयामि त्रियुतिः मध्यम-
यामे पञ्चमस्य अन्तिमां युतिं लब्ध्वा चतुःयुतिरित्यर्थः । * * * । गान्धारः ऋषभस्य
अन्तिमां युतिं मध्यमस्य चादिमां युतिमाश्रितः सन् चतुःयुतिर्भवति ; धैवतस्तु पञ्चमस्य
युतिं आश्रयति निषादस्य धैवतस्य अन्तिमां युतिं षड्जस्य चादिमां युतिमाश्रयति
चेत् तदा गान्धारयामो भवति ।—”

Commentary of Sangita Ratnākara by Sinhabhūpāla.

“षड्जयामः पञ्चमे तु सप्तदशां युती स्थिते ।
स्वरेऽस्मिन् पञ्चमे किल षोडशीयुतिसंस्थिते,
तदेव मध्यमयामः”—

Nartana-Nirnaya, by Bitthala.

The seven notes *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha*, and *Ni*, as situated in *Sharja-Grāma*, were called *S'uddha-svaras* (शुद्धस्वरः). When any of the seven notes was shifted from its own place to one or two *s'rutis* above or below, it was called *Vicrita-svara* (विकृतस्वरः), on account of the change in its position or pitch, and a note next to it in ascending series of seven notes was also called by that name, on account of the consequent decrease or increase of the interval between those two notes. One *Vicrita-svara* therefore presupposes the presence of another preceding or succeeding it. The *Vicrita-svaras* in use among the ancient musicians were twelve in number, of which three belong to *Sharja-Grāma* only, and five to *Mudhyama-Grāma* only, and the remaining four to both. Those three that belong to *Sharja-Grāma* only are *Ni*, *Sa* and *Ri* when *Ni* is raised one *s'ruti* above, and *Sa* lowered one *s'ruti*, the rest of the notes remaining in their own places. Similarly, in *Mudhyama-Grāma*, *Ga*, *Ma* and *Pa* become *Vicrita*, when *Ga* is raised and *Ma* lowered one *s'ruti*. The other two *Vicritas* that belong to *Mudhyama-Grāma* only, are

its *Tris'rutica Pa* and *Chatus'rutica Dha*—the distinguishing characteristics of that *Grāma*. The remaining four *Vicrita-svaras* that are common to both *Sharja-Grāma* and *Madhyama-Grāma* are *Ga*, *Ma*, *Ni* and *Sa*, when *Ga* and *Ni* are raised two *s'rutis* above ✓

Besides these 12 *Vicrita-svaras*, the reader will find some in *Gāndhāra-Grāma*, but no notice was taken of them by the ancients, for that *Grāma* (as I have already told) was said to be in use among *Devas* only.

The names by which the 12 *Vicritasvaras* were known to the Aryans are given in the table below, elucidating what I have just said regarding them. The letters S and M in the Table denote *Sharja-Grāma* and *Madhyama-Grāma* respectively.

Table of the Twelve *Vicrita-Svaras*.

Numbers.	NAMES.	Grāmas they belong to.	<i>S'rutis</i> on which they are placed or the strings producing them.	<i>S'ruti</i> on which the notes preceding them are placed or the strings producing them.	<i>S'ruti</i> on which they succeed. Notes are placed or the strings producing them.	KINDS OF TONES.
1	Chyuta-Sa ...	S	3rd	1st	7th	Devī-s'rutica
2	Achyuta-Sa ...	SM	4th	2nd	7th	Do.
3	Chatus'ruti-Ri ...	S	7th	3rd	9th	Chatus'rutica
4	Sadharana-Ga ...	N	10th	7th	12th	Tri-s'rutica
5	Antara-Ga ...	SM	11th	7th	13th	Chatus'rutica
6	Chyuta-Ma ...	M	12th	10th	16th	Devī-s'rutica
7	Achyuta-Ma ...	SM	13th	11th	17th or 16th	Do.
8	Chyuta-Pa ...	M	16th	13th	20th	Tri-s'rutica
9	Kais'ica-Pa ...	M	16th	12th	20th	Chatus'rutica
10	Chatus'ruti-Dha ...	M	20th	16th	{ 22nd, or 2nd of the upper Sap-taka	Do.
11	Kais'ica-Ni ...	S	1st	{ 20th of the lower Sap-taka	3rd	Tri-s'rutica
12	Kakali-Ni ...	SM	2nd	Do.	4th	Chatus'rutica

The sounds of *Chyuta-Pa* and *Kais'ica-Pa*, though identical with each other (owing to their being produced from one and the same string) were nevertheless considered as *two Vicrita-svaras*, on account of the difference of intervals between either of them and its preceding note, which in two different cases represents two different sounds. For the same reason, *Achyuta-Sa*, *Chatus'ruti-Ri*, *Achyuta-Ma* and *Chatus'ruti-Dha* were considered *Vicrita-svaras*, though their sounds are of the same pitch as those of the *Suddha-svaras Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga* and *Ma*, respectively. Of the former, the first

and third are *Devī-s'rutica*, and the second and the last, *Chatu-s'rutica*; whereas of the latter the first and third are *Chatu-s'rutica*, and the second and the last *Tris'rutica*.

Babus Kristo Dhan Banerjee, Nobin Chunder Dutt and Dr. Sourindra Mohun Tagore have made wrong application of the terms *S'uddha-svaras* and *Vicrita-svaras*. They call *Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* and *Sa S'uddha-svaras* when they are 4, 3, 2, 4, 4, 3 and 2 *s'rutis* above *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha* and *Ni*, respectively. Raised *Ma* and lowered *Ri, Ga, Dha* and *Ni* are, in their opinion, the five *Vicrita-svaras*. To prove what they say, they in vain quote passages from ancient works, which it appears they do not understand. The passages are as follow :—

“ततः सप्त स्वराः शुद्धाः विज्ञता द्वादशाप्यमी ।”

Sangīta-Darpana.

“शुद्धाः सप्त स्वरास्ते च मन्द्रादिस्थानतस्त्रिधा ।

शुद्धाः अथ व्यादिभेदेन विज्ञता द्वादशीदिताः ॥”

Sangīta Dāmōdara.

Dr. Sourindra Mohun Tagore, has quoted (in his *Yantra-Kshetra Deepicā*) only the first of the above two passages, and Babu Nobin Chunder Dutt both. Neither of these passages says, or means, that *Vicrita-svaras* are five in number. They rather go to support my statement that they (*Vicritasvaras*) are twelve.

I quote here some passages from “Sangīta-Ratnākara” in proof of the correctness of the explanations I have given above of the 12 *Vicritasvaras*.

“च्युतीऽच्युतीद्विधा षड्जो विद्युतिर्विज्ञतो भवेत्,

साधारणे काकलित्वे निषादस्य च दृश्यते ।

साधारणे श्रुतिं षाड्जौष्टोमः संश्रितौ यदा,

चतुःश्रुतित्वमायाति तदैको विज्ञतो भवेत् ।

साधारणे विद्युतिः स्यादन्तरत्वे चतुःश्रुतिः,

गान्धार इति तदभेदौ द्वौ निःशङ्केन कौर्त्तितौ ।

मध्यमः षड्जवद् द्विधाऽन्तरसाधारणायथात् ।

पञ्चमी मध्यमयामि विद्युतिः, कौशिके पुनः

मध्यमस्य श्रुतिं प्राप्य चतुःश्रुतिरिति द्विधा ।

धैवतो मध्यमयामि विज्ञतः स्यात् चतुःश्रुतिः,

कौशिके काकलित्वे च निषादस्त्रिचतुःश्रुतिः ।

प्राप्नोति विज्ञतौ भेदौ द्वाविति द्वादश श्रुताः ।

तैः शुद्धैः सप्तभिः सार्द्धं भवन्त्येकोनविंशतिः ॥”

Sangīta-Ratnākara, by S'āringa Dēva.

“श्रुतिद्वयस्यैव षड्जस्य निषादः संशयेत् तदा,
स काकली, मध्यमस्य गान्धारस्वनन्तरः स्वरः ।”

Ibid.

“निषादी यदि षड्जस्य श्रुतिमात्रां समाययेत्,
ऋषभस्वन्तिमां, प्रीतिं षड्जसाधारणं तदा ।
मध्यमस्यापि ग-पयोर्विव साधारणं मतम् ।
साधारणं मध्यमस्य मध्यमगामगं ध्रुवम् ।
साधारणे कैशिके ते कैशयवदण्वतः ।
त एव कैशिदच्येति गामसाधारणे वृधैः ॥”

Ibid.

Something or other, I know not what, has, of late, convinced Dr. Sourindra Mohun Tagore that the *Vicrita-svaras* are twelve (and not five) and that a note may be *vicrita* without being raised or lowered in pitch. This I say, because I find the conviction recorded in page 16 of his “Six Principal Rāgas.” But I am sorry that his descriptions there of the different *Vicrita-svaras* and the Diagram in the same page contradict each other, and neither of them is in accordance with Sanscrit authorities.

In each of the three *Grāmas*, the ascending and descending series of seven notes beginning from each of them at a time, form seven different orders in the succession of intervals and were known to the ancients by the name of *Murchhānā* (मूर्च्छना). They are altogether 21 in number, of which 7 belongs to *Sharjagrāma*, 7 to *Madhyagrāma*, and 7 to *Gāndhāragrāma*. The first *Murchhānā* of *Sharja Grāma* begins from *Sa* of the middle *Saptaka*, the second *Murchhānā* from *Ni* of the lower *Saptaka*, the third from *Dha* below the *Ni*, and so on. The first *Murchhānā* of *Madhyama-Grāma* begins from *Ma* of the middle *Saptaka*, the second from *Ga*, and so on. The first *Murchhānā* of *Gāndhāra-Grāma* begins from *Ga*, the second from *Ri*, and so on.

Some of the ancient authors in explaining the application of these *Murchhānās* held that the first note of each of the last six *Murchhānās* of each *grāma* is shifted up and fixed in the place of the first note of that *grāma*, and the remaining notes shifted up higher and higher, preserving the order of intervals existing in the series they (the notes) belonged to. This method causes seven different orders in the series of intervals within a uniform compass of a *saptaka*, and therefore seems to be very like “Tonic-Sol-fa-ing” practiced in Europe.

Other ancient authors seem to be of opinion that the notes of each *Murchhānā* remain in their own places, and the circumstance of the first note of each *Murchhānā* in its turn being considered

and used as the fundamental or primitive to which the remaining six notes become subordinate, produces the same impressions as above of those different orders of intervals though from different pitches.

Every one of the 14 *Murchhánás*, that is 7 each of *Sharja-Grama* and *Madhyama-Grama*, by the introduction of the *Vicrīta-svara* called *Kákali-Ni*, in lieu of *Suddha-Ni*, in it, of *Antara-Ga* in lieu of *Suddha-Ga* and of both *Kákali-Ni* and *Antara-Ga* in lieu of *Suddha-Ni* and *Suddha-Ga*, was made to assume three different modes or attitudes and three different names of *Kákali-kalitá* (काकलिकलिता), *Sántará* (सान्तरा) and *Sántara-kakali* (सान्तरकाकली), respectively, whereas in its own mode where the arrangement of the notes is peculiar to the *grama* it belongs to, it was named *Suddhá* (सुद्धा) by the ancients. Thus, there were altogether 56 *Murchhánás* in use among the musicians, of which 14 were *Suddha*, 14 *Kákali-kalitá*, 14 *Sántará*, and 14 *Sántara-kakali*. These *Murchhánás* are shown in the annexed Diagram No 2. The figures 2, 3 and 4 are put underneath the notes to signify that notes are respectively *Dvi-srutica*, *Tri-srutica* and *Chatu-srutica*, or in other words, 2, 3 and 4 *srutis* above those that immediately precede them. The names of the *Murchhánás* given there are taken from S'arnga-Devá's "Sangita-Ratnākara". Different authors called them by different names, but those given here are most popular. None of my contemporaries have, so far as I know, explained what these *Murchhánás* were, and Dr. Sourindo Mohun Tagore has abused the term by denoting thereby the act of producing two or more notes in succession, blended together by continued increase or decrease of pitch. The reader will better understand what he means on reading the definitions he has given of the term in his "Yantra-Kshetra-Depica," page 119 and his "Six Principal Rāgas," pages 27, 28 and 30.—

In support of the explanation I have given above, of the *Murchhánás*, a few lines are quoted here from ancient authors :—

“आरीहणावरीहण क्रमेण खरसप्तकम्

मूर्च्छना-शब्दवाचं हि विज्ञेयं तद्विचक्षणैः ।”

Matanga.

“क्रमात् खराणां सप्तानामारीहणावरीहणम्

मूर्च्छनेत्युच्यते—”

S'arnga Déva.

“मध्यस्थानस्थषड्जेन मूर्च्छनारभ्यतेऽयिमा,
 अक्षन्नेर्निषादाद्यैः षडन्या मूर्च्छना क्रमात् ।
 मध्यममध्यममारभ्य सौवीरी मूर्च्छना भवेत् ।
 षडन्यास्तदधीऽधःस्थस्वरानारभ्य त क्रमात् ॥
 षडजस्थानस्थितैर्न्याद्यैरजन्त्याद्याः परे विदुः ।
 हारिणाश्चादिका गायैर्मध्यमस्थानसंस्थितैः ।
 षडजादीन् मध्यमादींश्च तदूर्ध्वं सारयेत् क्रमात् ॥
 चतुर्धा ताः पृथक् पृथाः काकली-कलितास्तथा ।
 सानरास्तद्व्यपेताः, षट्पञ्चाशदतिरिताः ॥”

ibid.

Each *Murchháná* again is said to be *Sampúrna* (सम्पूर्ण), or *Asampúrna* (असम्पूर्ण). It is *Sampúrna* when none of the seven notes is wanting in the series. It is *Asampúrna* when it wants one or two. The *Asampúrna Murchháná* which wants one note only is called *Shárabí* (षाड़वी), and that which wants two *Aurabí* (औड़वी).

In the *Murchhánás* of *Sharja-grāma* the notes *Sa, Ri, Pa* and *Ni*, and in the *Murchhánás* of *Madhyama-grāma*, *Sa, Ri* and *Ga* were used to be omitted, one at a time, to make *Shárabí Murchhánás*, which were 49 in number, namely, 28 of *Sharja-grāma* and 21 of *Madhyama-grāma*.

The *Aurabí-Murchhánás* of *Sharja-grāma* were formed by omitting either *Sa* and *Pa*, or *Ri* and *Pa*, or *Ga* and *Ni*, and were therefore 21 in number.

The omission at one time of *Ri* and *Dha* and at another of *Ga* and *Ni*, formed the twelve *Aurabí-Murchhánás* of *Madhyama-grāma*.

The total number of *Aurabí-Murchhánás* in the two *grāmas* was, therefore, said to be 35.

The above mentioned 49 *Shárabís* and 35 *Aurabís* make up the 84 *Asampúrna-Murchhánás*, which were also called *Tánas* (तान) by some authors. Every one of the 84 had a name of its own, but it is not worth while to put these down here.

The various combinations of the different notes in a *Murchháná* were (and are still) called *Tánas* (तान). The *Tánas* consisting of seven notes were called *Sampúrna* (सम्पूर्ण), of six notes, *Shárabá* (षाड़व), of five notes, *Aurabá* (औड़व), of four, *Svarántara*

(खरान्तर), of three, *Sāmica* (सामिक), of two, *Gāthica* (गाथिक), and of one note only, *A'rchica* (आर्चिक).

“आर्चिकी गाथिकश्चैव सामिकश्च खरान्तरः,

श्रीडवः षाडवश्चैव सम्पूर्णश्चैति सप्तमः ।

एकखरप्रयोगोहि आर्चिकस्तन्मिधीयते,

गाथिकीद्विखरीत्रेयस्तखरश्चैव सामिकः,

चतुःखरप्रयोगोहि खरान्तरक उच्यते,

श्रीडवः पञ्चमिश्चैव षाडवः षट्खरीभवेत्,

सम्पूर्णः सप्तमिश्चैव विज्ञेयो गीतयोक्तृभिः ।”

Nārada.

✓ The seven notes of a *Sampūrṇā-Mūrchhānā*, by being combined in all their various orders, form 5,040 *Sampūrṇā-Tānas*. In the same manner any six notes among the seven form 720 *Shāraba-Tānas*, any five notes 120 *Aurabas*, any four 24 *Svarāntaras*, any three 6 *Sāmicas*, and any two 2 *Gāthica Tānas*. Any one note forms only 1 *A'rchica Tana*. And as each *Sampūrṇā-Mūrchhānā* has 7 different notes, and, therefore, 21 different groups of two notes, 35 of three notes, 35 of four notes, 21 of five notes, 7 of six notes and 1 group only of seven notes it admits of $(7 \times 1 =) 7$ *A'rchica*, $(21 \times 2 =) 42$ *Gāthica*, $(35 \times 6 =) 210$ *Sāmica*, $(35 \times 24 =) 840$ *Svarāntara*, $21 \times 120 =) 2,520$ *Auraba*, $(7 \times 720 =) 5,040$ *Shāraba* and $(1 \times 5,040 =) 5,040$ *Sampūrṇa Tānas*. Thus, in each *Sampūrṇā-Mūrchhānā* there are 13,699 *Tānas* different from one another. Similarly each *S'arabī-Mūrchhānā*, from having in it 6 different notes, and therefore 51 different groups of two notes, 20 of three notes, 15 of four notes, 6 of five notes and 1 group only of six notes, admits formation of $(6 \times 1 =) 6$ *A'rchica*, $(15 \times 2 =) 30$ *Gāthica*, $(20 \times 6 =) 120$ *Sāmica*, $(15 \times 24 =) 360$ *Svarāntara*, $(6 \times 120 =) 720$ *Auraba*, and $(1 \times 720 =) 720$ *Shāraba-tānas*, making altogether 1,956 different *tānas*. In the same manner each *Aurabī Mūrchhānā*, from the circumstance of its having 5 different notes, and therefore 10 different groups of two notes, 10 of three notes, 5 of four notes and 1 group only of five notes, admits formation of $(5 \times 1 =) 5$ *A'rchica*, $(10 \times 2 =) 20$ *Gāthica*, $(10 \times 6 =) 60$ *Sāmica*, $(5 \times 24 =) 120$ *Svarāntara* and $(1 \times 120 =) 120$ *Auraba-tānas*, making up altogether 325 different *tānas*.

The above number of *tānas* together with those of all others which 1, 2, 3 and 4 notes respectively admit, are given in the table below.

The Table showing the Numbers of different Tānas which each number of notes from 1 or 7 admits :—

Number of Notes forming Tānas.	NAMES OF TĀNAS.	NUMBERS OF TĀNAS.						
		1 Note admits.	2 Notes admit.	3 Notes admit.	4 Notes admit.	5 Notes admit.	6 Notes admit.	7 Notes admit.
1	A'rūha.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Gāthra		2	6	12	20	30	42
3	Sāmīra			6	24	60	120	210
4	Svarāntara				24	120	300	840
5	Auraba.....					120	720	2,520
6	Shāraha.....						720	5,040
7	Sampūrṇa							5,040
Total		1	4	15	64	325	1,956	11,699

I have explained "*S'rutis*," "*S'varas*," "*Grāmas*," "*Murchhānās*" and "*Tānas*," and now proceed to give the readers some idea of "*Rāgas*," reserving a full explanation of them for a future opportunity.

A *Rāga* is a musical composition of not less than five notes of a *Murchhānā* in accordance with certain prescribed rules with a view to its producing a certain æsthetic effect. The chief rules are as follow :—

1st. A note should be assumed as that with which a *Rāga* must invariably begin. This note was known to the ancients by the name of *graha* (ग्रह)

2nd. The same note or another should be assumed as that with which the *Rāga* must invariably end. This was called *nyāsa* (न्यास).

3rd. A note must be made principal, or predominant (just as a certain color in a painting), by repeating it oftener than others. This was called *Ans'a* (अंश) or *Bādī* (बादी). It has also, to my thinking, generally a greater share of the time in an air than the rest of the notes.

4th. A note which is nine or thirteen *s'rutis* above or below the *Bādī* should be used almost as frequently as the latter. This note

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was called *Sambādī* (सम्बादी) What Dr. Sourindra Mohun Tagore says in page 150 of his "Yantra-Kshetra-Dupica" in defining *Sambādī-sanyoga* is as follows :—

“সপ্তম, অষ্টম, এবং দ্বাদশ ঋতির ব্যবধানতায় যে দুই সুরের পরস্পর সংযোগ হয় তাহাকে সম্বাদীসংযোগি কহে। যেমন ষড়্জ এবং গান্ধার, গান্ধার এবং পঞ্চম, মধ্যম এবং নিষাদ, ইত্যাদি।”

By the words *Saptama* (সপ্তম) and *Ashtama* (অষ্টম) there, he evidently meant seven and eight, although the words denote nothing else than *seventh* and *eighth*. Out of the three examples he gives there, two broadly contradict his own definition. He does not seem to understand the passage which he there quotes from **“Dhvanimanjari”* (“ধ্বনিমঞ্জরী”) or one in *“Sangita-Darpana”* (সঙ্গীতদর্পণ) which he alluded to, neither did he discover that the word (সপ্তাষ্টী) (*Saptāṣṭī*) in his quotation was an error and should be (সন্ত্যষ্টী) (*santyaṣṭī*). We put down that passage here along with those in *“Sangita-Darpana,”* and in the works of *S'arṅgadēva*, *Dattila* and *Matanga*, all defining the term *“Sambādī”*

“সন্ত্যষ্টী দ্বাদশ বা ঋতয়ী মध्ये सदा ययी स्वरयी,
भवत सम्बादिनौ तौ कथितौ सङ्गीतवेदिनि प्राज्ञे।”

Dhvanimanjaree.

“ऋतयोऽष्टौ द्वादश वा भवन्ति मध्ये ययी. स्वरयी,
सम्बादिनौ तौ कथितौ—”

Sangita-Darpana.

“ऋतयी द्वादशाष्टौ वा ययीरन्तरगीचरा,
मिथ सम्बादिनौ तौ स्त.—”

Sarṅga-Deva.

“मिथ सम्बादिनौ त्रयी त्रयोदशमवान्तरौ।”

Dattila.

“सम्बादिकस्तु पुन समऋतिकले सति त्रयोदशमवान्तरले
चान्दोन्धं वीज्यम्।”

Matanga.

I deem it necessary to mention here that, lately, Dr. Sourindra Mohun Tagore has given in page 20 of his “six Principal ‘Rāgas’”

* “*Dhvanimanjaree*” and “*Sangita-Darpana*” are two ancient works on Hindu Music.

a translation of the above passage from "*Sangita Darpana*". But the rule he has deduced from it and recorded there is not what it ought to be. It runs as follow :—"Such notes are considered *Sambādī* as are so related to each other, that if the former is adopted as the key-note, the latter becomes the fourth in the ascending scale, whereas, if the latter is taken as the fundamental note, the former becomes the fifth in the descending scale.—" It is absurd that when the fourth note in the ascending scale is assumed for the fundamental, the first note becomes the fifth (instead of fourth) to the adopted fundamental in the descending scale. Should it be presumed that the author means here "fourth" and not "fifth," and that "*fifth*" is a clerical or typographical error in the place of "*fourth*," even then the rule would not convey the full import of the Sanskrit passage, which means a note is *Sambādī* to a key-note above or below it when they are intervened by 8 or 12 *s'rutis*, or in other words, when one is 9 or 13 *s'rutis* above or below the other. The author of "*The Six Principal Rāgas*" is also of opinion (as the 1st para in page 20 testifies) that any two notes, when not consecutive to each other and having the same "aggregate of *s'rutis*," are related to each other as *Sambādī*. This rule is incorrect and not in accordance with any authority, for, by it, the third and the sixth may be called *Sambādī* to the fundamental, if they, by being shifted have the same "aggregate of *s'rutis*" as the fundamental. The rule should be rectified to signify that in the ascending or descending series of seven notes any two are related to each other as *Sambādī*, provided they have the same "aggregate of *s'rutis*," and have two or three notes intervening them.

5th Such note or notes must be considered *Vibādī* (विबादी)—meaning discordant—and treated accordingly, as are two *s'rutis* above or below the *Bādī* of the *Rāga*. Some ancient authors held that all such notes are *Vibādī* as are in the same relation to *Bādī* as *Ga* and *Ni* are, in the *Suddha Murchhānā* of *Sharja-grāma*, to the rest of the notes there. The function of *Vibādīs*, I believe, is to heighten the effect of the sound assumed for *Bādī*. Dr. Sourindra Mohun Tagore says, in his "*Six Principal Rāgas*," page 21, that "In the opinion of *Sanskrit* writers, every two successive notes are always *bibadi* or dissonant ; for instance, *Dha* and *Ni*, *Ri* and *Ga*, and so forth." I know no such passage in any *Sanskrit* work. *Dha* and *Ni* and *Ri* and *Ga* are, no doubt, *Vibādīs* to each other, but not because they are consecutive, but that one is higher or lower than the other by two *s'rutis*. But then *Ni* *Dha* and *Ni*, and *Ri* and *Ga*, are not (as I have already shown) the same as those fixed by the Ancients, and the consequent circumstance of one

being 3 *s'rutis* higher or lower than the other, has rendered them, in the opinion of the ancients, *Anubádí* (अनुवादी) to each other. Babu Nobin Chunder Dutt and some other living authors erroneously used the word "*Vibádí*" in the sense of "*Burjitá*" (वर्जित) which designates the note or notes in a *Rága*. I quote below a few passages from different ancient works on Hindu music to support my statement :—

“—नि-गावन्व विवादिनी,
रि-धयीरेव वा स्यातां तौ तयोर्वा रि-धावपि ।”

S'arnga Dēva

“—निषाद गान्धारी
रि-धयीर्विवादिनी सप्तथी रि-धौ वा विवादिनी स्याताम् ।”

Dámódara.

“द्विशुल्यन्तरी खरी विवादिनी ।”

Matunga.

“एकशुल्यन्तरी यौ कौ तौ मिथश्च विवादिनी ।”

Bitthala.

A *Rága* differs from another, consisting of notes of a different *Murchháná*, when a note which is *Bádí*, or *Sambádí* or *Graha*, &c., in the one, is not the same in the other. There are, besides, peculiar niceties which also make many varieties. Thus the *Rágas* are numerous. The number 54,06,06,606, given in "*Sungíta Taranga*" cannot be called an exaggeration. Most of these *Rágas* gradually became extinct owing chiefly to the want of encouragement from the Government and the public.

Every one of these *Rágas* has a name assigned to it, and all compositions even differing, as they may, from each other in the series of the notes therein or in the duration of the notes, are nevertheless called by one and the same name of a *Rága* as long as the prescribed laws of that *Rága* are observed therein.

Each *Rága* therefore has innumerable varieties. Each of these varieties is called a *Gíta* (गीत), meaning a piece of music of that *Rága*. Thus, summarily speaking, *Gítas* arise from *Ragas*, *Rágas* from *Tánas*, *Tánas* from *Murchhánás*, *Murchhánás* from *Grámas*, *Grámas* from *Svaras* (notes,) and *Svaras* from *S'rutis*.

"*Sungíta-Párijáta*" (a Sanskrit treatise on Hindu Music) testifies to the fact that there was another system of music in India. This system resembles very much the one in present practice.

The *S'rutis* in this system are the same as explained before, and the notes are also seven in number and have the same seven names. The peculiarity is that this system admits of the notes

being so placed as to form intervals of one or five or six *s'rutis* between two successive notes.

The seven *Suddhasvaras* in this system are the same as those of the *Sharjagrāma* explained before. The *Vicritasvaras* are twenty-two in number. They are various sharps of *Ma*, and flats and sharps of the notes *Ri*, *Ga*, *Dha* and *Ni*. Flats by one *s'ruti* and by two *s'rutis* are called *Komala* (कीमल) and *Púrva* (पूर्व) respectively, and sharps by 1, 2, 3 and *S'rutis* respectively are called *Tíbra* (तीव्र), *Tíbratara* (तीव्रतर), *Tíbratama* (तीव्रतम) and *Atitíbratama* (अतितीव्रतम) accordingly. Out of the twenty-two *Vicritasvaras*, there are eight flats and fourteen sharps, as will be found in the following table :—

Table of 7 Suddhasvaras and 22 Vicritasvaras used in a system of Hindu Music according to "Sangita-Párijáta" (an ancient Musical Treatise in Sanscrit, by Ahobala).

VICRITASVARAS (FLATS.)	No. of Strings	S'uddha-svaras.	No. of S'rutis.	VICRITASVARAS (SHARPS.)
	1st	●	1st	Tíbra Ni.
	2nd	●	2nd	Tíbratara Ni.
	3rd	●	3rd	Tíbratama Ni.
	4th	Sa	4th	
Púrva Ri	5th	●	5th	
Komala Ri	6th	●	6th	
Púrva Ga	7th	Ri	7th	
Komala Ga	8th	●	8th	Tíbra Ri.
	9th	Ga	9th	Tíbratara Ri.
	10th	●	10th	Tíbra Ga.
	11th	●	11th	Tíbratara Ga.
	12th	●	12th	Tíbratama Ga.
	13th	Ma	13th	Atitíbratama Ga.
	14th	●	14th	Tíbra Ma.
	15th	●	15th	Tíbratara Ma.
	16th	●	16th	Tíbratama Ma.
	17th	Pa	17th	
Púrva Dha	18th	●	18th	
Komala Dha	19th	●	19th	
Púrva Ni	20th	Dha	20th	
Komala Ni	21st	●	21st	Tíbra Dha.
	22nd	Ni	22nd	Tíbratara Dha.

N. B.—*Sa* and *Pa* are fixed notes ; they have no Sharps and Flats.

The sounds called *Púrva-Ga*, *Komala-Ga*, *Tíbratara-Ri*, *Atí-tíbratama-Ga*, *Púrva-Ni*, and *Tíbratara-Dha*, are (as the table shows) the same as those called *S'uddha-Ri*, *Tíbra-Ri*, *S'uddha-Ga*, *S'uddha-Ma*, *S'uddha-Dha* and *S'uddha-Ni*, respectively. This difference in names is attributable to the different *S'uddhasvaras* rendering themselves *Vicritasvaras* by being shifted and placed in same *S'rutis* in the formation of different scales. *Ga* becomes *Púrva*, when *S'uddha-Ri* becomes *Vicrita*, by being removed one or two *S'rutis* below, and *Ga* shifted down to the place of *S'uddha-Ri*, *Sa* remaining as it is,—for, as a rule, in this system of Hindu Music, *Sa* and *Pa* are *fixed* notes, and should never be shifted above or below from the respective places assigned to them. When *Ga* is shifted one *s'ruti* below, *Ri* either remaining in its own place or being removed to the first or second *s'ruti* below it, or taken off altogether from the scale, is called *Komala-Ga*. The name *Tíbra-Ri* is given to the same sound, when *Ri* is shifted up one *s'ruti*, and *Ga* is either *S'uddha* or *Sharp*. When *Ga* is raised, and *Ri* shifted up to the place of *Ga*, the latter (*Ri*) assumes the name of *Tíbratara-Ri*. Similarly, when *Ma* is removed to one, two or three *s'rutis* above, and *Ga* occupy the place of *Ma*, *Ga* is then called *Atítíbratama*. *Ni* becomes *Púrva* when it is shifted down to the place of *Dha*, *Dha* then being removed to one or two *s'rutis* below it. When *Ni* is lowered one *s'ruti*, *Dha* either remaining in its own place, or being shifted down or omitted in a scale, the former is called *Komala-Ni*. The sound it represents is also called by the name of *Tíbra-Dha*, provided *Ni* is either raised or allowed its own place. When *Ni* becomes *Sharp* and *Dha* takes its place, the latter assumes the name of *Tíbratara-Dha*.

The *Vicritasvara*, called *Púrva-Ga*, presupposes the presence of either *Komala-Ri* or *Púrva-Ri* below it, whereas *S'uddha-Ri* presupposes the absence of both of them. Similarly, *Púrva-Ni* presupposes the presence of either *Komala-Dha* or *Púrva-Dha* below it, but *S'uddha-Dha* the absence of both of them. In short, as *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Dha* and *Ni*—be they *S'uddha* or *Vicrita*—are always held to be the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 7th notes respectively, no two successive notes are shifted to each other's *S'rutis* in one and the same scale, and no note is lowered or raised to the place of its succeeding or preceding note, until that succeeding or preceding note is shifted *above* or *below* its own place.

The scale consisting of *S'uddhasvaras* only is called *S'uddha-Méla*, and those having in the series one or more *Vicritasvaras* are called *Vicrita-Mélas*. "Méla" is a Sanskrit word generally

signifying aggregate and technically a musical scale, which is an aggregate of 5, 6, or 7 different notes fixed within a heptachord (diapason). This word, though still in use among most of the present musicians, is held by some to be synonymous to the current Hindustanee word "*Thāta*." Captain Willard, in his "Treatise on Hindu Music," used "*Thāta*" in the sense of *Méla*, but my short experience teaches me that "*Thāta*" is a term used only in instrumental music to denote relative positions of the frets (in a *Vinā*, *Sitār* and similar other instruments) adjusted for expressing *Méla*. *Mélas* may be called "Modes" the difference in their significations being considered immaterial.

A *Méla* is either *Sampūrna*, *Shāraba* or *Auraba* accordingly as it is constituted by 7, 6, or 5, notes. As a rule, no *méla* should want *Sa*, which is its first note. The number of *S'uddha Mélas* is altogether 22 and that of *Vicrita-Mélas* 11,318, making a total of 11,340, of which 2,664 are *Sampūrna*, 5,175 *Sharaba* and 3,501 *Auraba*.

Any two *Mélas*, when mixed together by one of them being used in ascending and the other in descending, form what might be called a "mixed" scale or "*Mis'ra Méla*." The "*Mis'ra Mélas*" are 128,584,260 in number. These "*Mis'ra Mélas*" and the above 11,340 *Mélas* which I should call "*Mukhya*" (मुख्य) or "Primary," are possible varieties of scales in this system. But it seems more than probable that only the choice ones among them were used,—the rest neglected. However, in the two annexed tables, I give the numbers of the different varieties of the *Mélas* to satisfy curious readers.

Table shewing the numbers of "Primary" Scales (*Mukhya-Méla*).

KINDS.	Suddha Mélas.	VICRITA-MÉLAS, having					TOTAL.
		1 Vicrita- Svara.	2 Vicrita Svaras	3 Vic ita- Svaras.	4 Vicrita- Svaras	5 Vicrita- Svaras.	
<i>Sampūrna</i> ...	1	17	126	500	1,060	960	2,664
<i>Sharaba</i> ...	6	85	504	1,500	2,120	960	5,175
<i>Auraba</i> ...	15	170	756	1 500	1 060	.....	3,501
Total ...	22	272	1,386	3,500	4,240	1,920	11,840

Table shewing the numbers of "mixed" Scales (*Misra Mela*)

CLASS.	SPECIES.				Total.
	S'uddha in Asc.		Vicitra in Asc.		
	Do. in Desg.	Vicitra in Desg.	S'uddha in Desg.	Do. in Desg.	
Sampúrna in Ascending and Sampúrna in Descending	.....	2,663	2,663	7,088,906	7,094,232
Do. " " Sháraba "	6	5,169	15,978	13,765,047	13,786,200
Do. " " Auraba "	15	3,486	39,945	9,283,218	9,326,664
Sháraba " " Sampúrna "	6	15,978	5,169	13,765,047	13,786,200
Do. " " Sháraba "	30	31,014	31,014	26,713,392	26,775,450
Do. " " Auraba "	90	20,916	77,535	18,019,134	18,117,675
Auraba " " Sampúrna "	15	39,945	3,486	9,283,218	9,326,664
Do. " " Sháraba "	90	77,535	20,916	18,019,134	18,117,675
Do. " " Auraba "	210	52,290	52,290	12,148,710	12,253,540
Total ...	462	248,996	248,996	123,085,806	128,584,260

Each *Mela* is the basis of more than one particular *rāga*, as the applications of the notes constituting the *mēla* vary accordingly as the notes assumed for *Graha*, *Ansa*, *Nyāsa*, &c. (explained before) differ in different *rāgas*. Some other varieties of *rāgas* are formed by certain adopted peculiarities in the use of one or more notes, which accordingly assume the following names; namely, *Yamala* (यमल) *Ślishta* (श्लिष्ट) *Pūrvās'rita* (पूर्वस्थित) *Paras'rita* (परस्थित) &c., &c. Such two notes are called *Yamala* (twins) as are used invariably one after the other in a piece of music. A note is named *Ślishta* when it is invariably uttered after or before a certain note. A note is called *Pūrvās'rita* or *Paras'rita* accordingly as it is used invariably after or before a certain note.

There appear to be also some other systems of Hindoo-Music adopted by the ancients. My knowledge of them at present is too limited to allow me the pleasure of explaining their nature to the satisfaction of the reader.

Rhythms, Metres, Compositions, Notations, &c., &c., in connection with the Hindu-Music cannot be cursorily treated of, and I shall not, therefore, dwell at all on these subjects here.

CALCUTTA, }
26th October 1878. }

SA'RADA' PRASA'DA GHOSHĀ.

DIAGRAM No. 1.

The Three Grámas (Scales) in Hindu Music.

I. Numbers of S'rutis, or of Strings producing them.	II. Names of S'rutis.	III. Sharjā-grāma.	IV. Madhyama-grāma	V. Gāndhāra-grāma.
1st	Tíbrá	●	●	Ni
2nd	Kumudvatí	●	●	●
3rd	Mandá	●	●	●
4th	Chhandavatí	Sa	Sa	Sa
5th	Dayávatí	●	●	●
6th	Ranjani	●	●	Ri
7th	Ratiká	Ri	Ri	●
8th	Raudrí	●	●	●
9th	Krodhá	Ga	Ga	●
10th	Bajriká	●	●	Ga
11th	Prasáriní	●	●	●
12th	Príti	●	●	●
13th	Márganí	Ma	Ma	Ma
14th	Kshiti	●	●	●
15th	Raktá	●	●	●
16th	Sandípaní	●	Pa	Pa
17th	Alápiní	Pa	●	●
18th	Madantí	●	●	●
19th	Rohiní	●	●	Dha
20th	Ramyá	Dha	Dha	●
21st	Ugrá	●	●	●
22nd	Kshobhiní	Ni	Ni	●

DIAGRAM NO. 2.

Table of the 56 Sampárná-Murchhánás.

Grāmas belong- ing to.	Nos.	Names of Murchhánás.	SPECIES.		Sántarā.	Sánara-Kakali.	
			Shuddhā.	Kākalī-Kalitā.		Sa Ri	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni.
Bhujā-Grāma.	1st	Uttaramandira	Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni 4 3 2 4 4 3 2	Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni 2 3 2 4 4 3 4	Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni 4 3 4 2 4 3 2	Sa Ri	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni. 2 3 4 2 4 3 4
	2nd	Rajani	Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha 2 4 3 2 4 4 3	Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha 4 2 3 2 4 4 3	Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha 4 3 4 2 4 3	Ni Sa Ri	Ga Ma Pa Dha. 4 2 3 4 2 4 3
	3rd	Uttarāyātā	Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa 3 2 4 3 2 4 4	Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa 4 2 3 2 4 4 4	Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa 4 3 4 2 4 3	Dha Ni Sa Ri	Ga Ma Pa. 3 4 2 3 4 2 4
	4th	Suddhasharjā	Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma 4 3 2 4 3 2 4	Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma 4 3 4 2 3 2 4	Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma 4 3 2 4 3 4	Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri	Ga Ma. 2 4 3 4 2 3 4
	5th	Matsar-kritā	Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga 4 4 3 2 4 3 2	Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga 4 4 3 2 4 3 2	Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga 2 4 3 2 4 3	Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri	Ga. 2 4 3 4 2 3 4
	6th	A'svagrātā	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri 2 4 4 3 2 4 3	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri 4 4 4 3 4 2 3	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri 4 2 4 3 2 4 3	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri	2 3 4 2 4 3 4 2 3
	7th	Abhirudgātā	Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa 3 2 4 4 3 2 4	Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa 3 2 4 4 3 2 4	Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa 3 4 2 4 3 2 4	Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa	2 4 3 4 2 4 3 4 2
Madhyama-Grāma.	1st	Saubhī	Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga 4 3 4 2 4 3 2	Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga 4 3 4 2 4 3 2	Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga 2 3 4 2 4 3	Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri	Ga. 2 3 4 4 2 3 4
	2nd	Hāriṇasvā	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri 2 4 3 4 2 4 3	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri 2 4 3 4 2 4 3	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri 4 2 3 4 2 4 3	Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri	4 2 3 4 2 3 4 4 2 3
	3rd	Kaīpanatā	Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa 3 2 4 3 4 2 4	Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa 3 2 4 3 4 2 4	Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa 3 4 2 3 4 2 4	Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Sa	4 2 3 4 2 3 4 4 2
	4th	Suddhamachyā	Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni 4 3 2 4 3 4 2	Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni 2 3 2 4 3 4 4	Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni 4 3 4 2 3 4 2	Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni	2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3 4 4
	5th	Margee	Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha 2 4 3 2 4 3 4	Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha 4 2 3 2 4 3 4	Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha 2 4 3 4 2 3 4	Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa Dha	4 2 3 4 4 2 3 4 2 3 4
	6th	Paurabī	Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa 4 2 4 3 2 4 3	Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa 4 4 2 3 2 4 3	Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa 4 2 4 3 4 2 3	Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma Pa	2 3 4 4 2 3 4 2 3
	7th	Hrishyaka	Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma 3 4 2 4 3 2 4	Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma 3 4 4 2 3 2 4	Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma 3 4 2 4 3 4 2	Pa Dha Ni Sa Ri Ga Ma	2 3 3 4 4 2 3 4 2

ART III.—ON THE STUDY OF PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

IT is now several years since the University of Calcutta established an alternative course, or *tripos*, of physical science for its *alumni*. This reform, first suggested by Sir Henry Sumner Maine when Vice-Chancellor, was one of a vital character. To open—for all of India's young men who have the opportunity of culture—a path of phenomenal inquiry, is not only to give impetus to mental training which is much needed, but is also the best means of preventing the growth of delusions by the substitution of, at least, relative truth.

Some of the arguments in favour of this statement have been already glanced at in this *Review*, in an article upon Religion.* There is more connection between science and the basis of beneficial views of religion than is usually conceived. For example, the rock upon which Theistic reformers in India have so often wrecked their cause, has been the assertion that God is known by intuition. Science knows of no such intuition. Yet, from this rash postulate they have gone on to deduce a vast number of futile (though generous) applications. And the chimera of an intuitional proof of deity has lured them to destruction, while their applications, failing to obtain popular acceptance, have ended as mere rubbish in the lumber-rooms of esoteric philosophy. But there is more to be said.

It will be the purpose of these pages to show that an accurate study of the phenomenal universe, based on the relativity of human knowledge, but not making any unverified assumptions—will supply better reasons for the belief in God, that is in a being who favours ORDER. The results of such a belief may prove neither rapid nor striking. But a step will be gained. As we proceed to details, human labour will be found to receive a consecration; a foundation will be laid for a temple to which, more and more, men may learn to resort; a point of new departure may be gained for future progress. /

Even if nothing came of the method here proposed, the people of India—whom Britain has undertaken, apparently, to civilise—would be no worse off than they are now. At present Englishmen seem to be a little unreasonably impatient because the Indian races cannot at once mount upon the European platform. It is forgotten that the English have reached that platform by a certain ladder; and that the same ladder—or one very like it—is necessary for those who are invited to follow. It is

* *Calcutta Review*, No. CXXXVI. Page, No. 199 f.f.

doubtless true, as remarked by Mr. Leonard,* that "the Hindus will not adopt wholesale the religion and the manners and customs of Europe, but will carve out a civilisation of their own." But it must not be forgotten that, however men's nature may be modified by inheritance, by tradition, and by surrounding circumstances, there is, in the end, only one world for us all to live in, and that its laws are, for everyone, the same. If it can be shown that social progress has been invariably connected with an increase in the scope, the depth, and the accuracy of knowledge among the societies that have progressed, there will probably be but little danger of error in concluding that the same connection will everywhere exist as a condition essential to civilisation. A man who can calculate an eclipse so as to foretell its exact time and place of visibility, is not likely to believe that the moon is being eaten by a demon when it happens. And the gradual elimination of the demon element from life in general is essential to the introduction of a doctrine of law and sequence, not only into our theories but into our practice.

Many approaches have been made to such a synthesis of the sciences as should furnish a basis for human conduct, both individually and in communities; by the Greeks, for instance, whose two greatest thinkers—Plato and Aristotle—both wrote on moral and political subjects from a philosophic stand point. Nor were the Hindus idle, as we see by their famous schools of *Nyāya* and *Sankhya*. In modern Europe Comte, with his *Philosophie Positive*, made a brilliant effort in the same direction. But by far the most complete and convincing system, tallying as it does, with the most established observations of the leading specialists in every realm of physics, is that of Herbert Spencer. That thinker has never yet given to the world a complete work of the kind here contemplated. But an American writer, Professor Fiske, has supplied the want in a very able and clear abstract† where, with the aid of Darwin and Huxley, G. H. Lewes and the German Haeckel—he has traced out, on Spencer's lines, a chart of the whole province of human knowledge; showing what has been explored, what remains to be explored, and where are the confines that bound the explorable. And, with this in our hands, we ought to find no very great difficulty in learning what can be done by physical studies and what cannot.

For Herbert Spencer's school is not one of *à priori* assumption, or intuition, but of modest inquiry and verification; as has indeed been already hinted. Even the "relativity of knowledge," which

* *History of the Brāhma Samāj*, Calcutta 1879.

† *Cosmic Philosophy*, two vols. 8 vo. London 1879.

is in some sort its corner-stone, is made the subject of elaborate exposition and proof. It is shown that, &c., while, for us, "subjectively," phenomena exist and are not only significant but all important, there is not only no certainty as to absolute, or "objective," existence, but not even any possibility of certainty. It is with the phenomenal kosmos alone that consciousness can deal; and without consciousness we can have no cognition.

This, however, as will presently be more fully shown, is no metaphysical speculation about the existence of matter in the abstract. Our actual every-day experience suffices to show that we do not take cognisance of what *is*, but only of what is modified in our consciousness. Take, as a very simple illustration, the common phenomena of light, without which our life could not be carried on: yet what do we really know about them? Only what our senses teach us; and the teaching of one sense is not the teaching of another. For the same ray that dazzles the eye, only produces upon the skin a pleasant feeling of warmth. The compound solar ray is in fact divisible into three elements, the Ritteric—the ray of greatest refrangibility—the Newtonic—whose refrangibility is moderate—and the Herschellic—whose refrangibility is least of all. The first is simply "actinic," and productive of chemical changes; the third is "thermal;" but neither of these is *visible*. The Newtonic ray, reaching from violet to red, is the only portion that can be seen. Yet the *cause* of all these phenomena, though one, and capable of being named, cannot be known. Cognition can only deal with likeness, difference, or relation; and that which is absolute must for ever elude its grasp. The effects of the various solar actions depend for their relations on the varying frequency of their vibration. That much we can know; but how can we learn the nature of the thing that vibrates?

Such being the character of human knowledge, we shall find that philosophy, which is only knowledge developed and synthesised, has its scope limited of necessity. No longer floating aimlessly among the clouds of transcendental metaphysic, philosophy is found to have her real occupation in searching for and explaining the Kosmos, studying phenomena, not noumena, describing the process of evolution instead of guessing at the act of creation, dealing with the "How" and not with the "Why." In order the better to do this she begins by seeking for a test of truth. Nothing has so much exercised the metaphysicians of the past as the question: How do we know that we know? Leibnitz, finding that the objective order of things could be compared with the subjective order of our conceptions, deduced a theory of "necessary truths" to which the mind contributed an element of certainty. The method so obtained was as faulty as

that of Descartes, which indeed it greatly resembled. Yet the instrument in Kant's hands was capable of formidable employment against Hume's assertion of the "uniformity of experience." We shall see presently in how simple a manner these two systems can be reconciled, and shown to be but the front and back of the same shield. But in the present connection all that we have to do is to ask for an organ or test which shall guide us to the answer to such questions as this ; why ought we to admit that a crow may be white, or a swan black—things contrary to experience—while we make experience a reason for asserting that nitrogen can never be combustible ?

The answer to this question is that non-combustion is of the *essence* of nitrogen, while the whiteness of a swan is but an *accident*. You can think of a black swan, and it is now known that such an animal exists. But you cannot think of combustible nitrogen, because what was combustible could not be nitrogen. Hence we see that the test of truth is that the opposite of the statement should be unthinkable.

But the possibilities of things are not to be limited by the possibilities of our thinking. At vol. 1. p. 83, Professor Fiske gives several proofs of the existence of objective reality which displace the pure idealism of Berkeley. As for Hume, he shows that knowledge is indeed built up out of changes of consciousness, but we cannot help seeing that from this it immediately follows that there is something to be changed as well as something to change it ; for, to apply our own test of truth, the negation of such a statement is unthinkable. The noumenon then, is neither pure mind nor pure matter ; but is *absolute existence*. From these considerations it seems clear that the object and subject must be both supposed, and must be fused in a necessary synthesis. Though you can never know the object you can produce, in your own mind and conduct, a sequence corresponding to objective sequence. And to help in this is the province of philosophy, the contemplation of the unmodified object being left to the emotional treatment of religion.

It is doubtless true that, whenever philosophy works in a purely subjective manner, she is in danger of losing her labour, yet she must beware of the opposite. Purely metaphysical enquiry starts from unverified premises to conclusions that are incapable of verification. The end of which may be seen in Hegel, who came at last to despise Bacon, and to prefer Ptolemy, as an astronomer, to Copernicus. Thus we see that verification—though not excluding hypothesis—is in the end the true practical difference between physis and metaphysics ; and that it is the former only that deserves to be followed.

One of the most insoluble of secrets, on this account, is the nature of causation. It is clear that every event must be determined by something that precedes it; yet all sequence is not necessarily causational. Thus, about one half of the twenty-four hours, which is dark, appears to most men to follow the other or light half. Yet night is no more caused by day than day is by night; and if you go to the polar regions you will find no day at all for some six months. But all metaphysical theories of causation are shown to be unverifiable and mutually destructive. All that can be said of causation, is, that it implies an *unconditional sequence*. Hence it follows that will, for instance, cannot be a true cause, though often mistaken for one.

Another great work of philosophy is the eliminating, or minimising, the human element in the universe, and making the phenomenal kosmos the thing to be studied. In considering this, Professor Fiske attacks some of the errors of Comte while allowing him credit for a "unique historic faculty" which made him the herald, though not the originator, of modern philosophy. He shows that the real scope of Comte's so-called Positivism is negation; whereas the real purpose of philosophy is not one of denial, but of integration of cause. The existence of a First Cause is, in fact, the very basis of the kosmic synthesis.

The next step is the organisation of the sciences, as to which Mr. Spencer teaches that the co-ordination of all the sciences as a whole issues in sociology, and forms a revolution for which we are in the main indebted to Comte. But his interpreter endeavours to show that Comte's classification is very faulty (*v.*, p.p. 193 to 212). The sciences cannot be fitly organised in order of increasing complexity; for sciences, though more and more tending to fuse in a general consensus, are still distinguishable in a progressive order. The factors of that progress are conspicuousness, frequency, and concreteness of phenomena, combined with increasing simplicity and means of investigation. The true order, therefore, is not from general to special so much as from abstract to concrete. The first element of the kosmic synthesis will be the purely abstract sciences, which deal with *relations*; the next the partly concrete sciences, concerned with *properties*; the last being the purely concrete sciences relating to *aggregates* (with their relations and properties together) and of these each has its sub-science of genesis. This order is expressed as follows:—

ABSTRACT	...	{ Logic
		{ Mathematics
		{ Molar Physics
ABSTRACT-CONCRETE	...	{ Molecular Physics
		{ Chemistry

CONCRETE	...	{ Astronomy (Subscience, Kosmogony),		
		Geology	do.	Geogeny
		Biology	do.	Biogeny
		Psychology	do.	Psychogeny
		Sociology	do.	Sociogeny,

There is little to be objected to this view. The grammarian may be allowed a sigh at the necessity of such words as "Sociology" and "Sociogeny"—for the science of society and its origin, when if they have any meaning, it ought to be the science and origin of Fellows. It seems a pity that Mr. Spencer and his followers could not have adopted some such word as Politology : but let this pass ; it does not affect the value of the system.

Now the first practical value of the above classification is that it parts company from Comte in elevating Philosophy to her due place as Ruler of the Sciences, and restores Logic to its proper function as an Organon of methods. Giving a natural synthesis, moreover, it corrects another of Comte's errors by showing that ignorance of the unexamined is widely different from abstinence from the unknowable. Comte shrank from speculations on subjects where verification was at hand ; and his failure to perceive this blinded him to the true distinction between science and metaphysic, and hindered him from arriving at the truth.

Nor is this the only difference between Comtism and Spencerism ; frequently as the two systems have been confused, they are really fundamentally antagonistic. With some of the subjective weaknesses of orthodoxy Positivism combines a negative dogmatism hardly to be discriminated from Atheism. Spencer's system, on the other hand, is based upon the recognition of an Absolute, manifested in the phenomenal world, and is a synthesis of developed knowledge of that world.

This synthetic theory must be partly conducted upon the deductive method. It is in fact impossible to proceed in such an undertaking without forming a hypothesis ; nor is there any danger in such a method as long as the necessity of an ultimate verification is present before the mind. The theorem is to be sought in the generalisations of the 3rd (or abstract-concrete) class of sciences. The movements of matter being borne in view, any metaphysical base may be eliminated or disregarded ; and it will be enough for such a hypothesis if it gives a correct, *i. e.*, a verifiable, description of the observed relations of phenomena. By thus organising experience we shall find that our philosophy will furnish us with a generalisation capable, if duly verified, of application to the entire universe of phenomena. That philosophy

of the universe, that Kosmic synthesis, is—in one word—EVOLUTION.

Thus far, with Professor Fiske's aid, we have followed the first principles of Spencerism, and seen the question stated. We are now to see, chiefly with the same guidance, the formation of the actual synthesis.

"Physics" have been shown to be a set of sciences divided into three classes, molar, molecular and chemical.

Of these the first deals with the action and motion of masses of matter, as seen in the statics and dynamics of solids, fluids and gases. The second deals with the action and motion of the ultimate particles, or "molecules" of which matter is supposed to consist. The third, though partaking of the molecular character, is classed separately, because of the combinative action of the molecules and their resulting in the formation of other substances. Now these three classes of science—which deal with the properties of matter—are shown to underlie a study of the whole of nature on which the synthesis rests.

Starting with twin theorems—that matter is indestructible, and force persistent, we find that, besides a true inductive basis, they imply a fundamental truth which raises them to the rank of axioms. The second, for instance, though it may not be capable of logical proof, answers to the test above established. That "force is persistent" is a statement whose negation is unthinkable, and it is impossible to conceive variation in the unit by which force is measured (*v.* page 285.), a truth which has to be assumed at every step of the induction by which the law of causation is established. It is the product of the entire intercourse of man with matter, and herein arises the dawn of his intelligence. Since Mr. Grove's work we have heard much of the "correlation of Forces"; but the better name would be the "Law of Transformation of Motion". That is our axiomatic law (persistence of force) seen in obverse. Whichever way we view it, the important result is the same. Force is indestructible, and motion is due to the action of force along the line of least resistance. The indestructibility of matter is more metaphysical and of less importance.

From this axiom the first step is to state the nature of reflex motion called "Rhythm." When a pendulum moves in anything like a vacuum, it has a tendency to go back as far as it has swung forward. And the orbits of planets are illustrations of the same truth; when the force that now takes the planet from west to east is exhausted, the planet does not stand still, but curves back from east to west. That is the bare theory; in practice such forces are usually complicated by the action of minor forces, and

can never, where that is so, be completely regular. From this it is inferred that every new geologic era must involve a new state of things; rhythm being practically too complex ever to result in reproducing any given distribution of force. As in the familiar instance of the kaleidoscope, every rhythm ends in redistribution, and so changes go on *ad infinitum*. Hence it follows that no expired epoch can ever be, in practice, restored.

These changes are produced in two ways, by evolution and by dissolution. Of these the first is defined to be an *integration of matter* with concomitant *dissipation of motion*; the second being exactly the opposite. And the past and future of all organisms are determined by these two factors alternating or even co-operating.

These considerations prepare for a statement of the law of evolution. So long as force is persistent, *change from indefinite incoherent homogeneousness to definite coherent heterogeneousness must accompany integration*. As we shall see more fully hereafter, the highest and grandest exemplification of this law is to be found in the passage of man from primal anarchy to the most completely organised forms of society. But it is to be observed at work in the progress of all the arrangements of phenomena, in astronomy, in biology, no less than in social science.

The first display of evolution is in the history of the solar system. The "nebular theory" of Laplace furnished an explanation of the phenomena of cosmogeny which has been accepted by modern science. *Why* the planetary matter first began to rotate from west to east, is one of those transcendental questions whose solution we are bound to renounce. We can, however, easily imagine the fact to be a probable resultant of forces once confused and antagonistic. That primal rotation of an incoherent homogeneous mass would necessitate a conglobation, with centrifugal force at the equator. As heat continued to radiate, the consequent contraction must have led to an increased velocity; poles flattened, centrifugal force at the equator increased and overpowered the action of gravitation in that region, and rings broke off. Thus much, with the subsequent career of the rings so formed, has been illustrated by the well-known experiment of Plateau with globules of oil revolved in water. Where the sphere is most oblate, the rings that fall from it are less circular than those projected from spheres that are less oblate; and the planets produced from the more oblate spheres have their axes most nearly parallel with the planes of their orbits, and are larger. This series ends with Jupiter. Then appear the later

planets, with axes more inclined. So far had cosmogony advanced in the last century. But the theory was to receive an unexpected confirmation. In 1825 it was discovered by Talbot and Herschel that different bodies produced different lines in the spectrum—observations first initiated by Fraunhofer and Brewster. From this point the new science of spectrum analysis proceeded so rapidly that we are now able to analyse the constitution of the sun itself; and it is generally admitted now that the same elements have been shown to exist, though in very various conditions, throughout the entire Solar system*. But that system is not standing still; for nothing is static in Kosmos. Smaller planets are more developed than larger. The small satellite that goes round our earth is either a corpse or an abortion. And the fate of the moon apparently awaits the whole system of which she forms an almost obsolete portion. Beyond this, science fails; but she proclaims with no unfaltering voice that there exists an infinite rhythm between evolution on the one hand and dissolution on the other.

Turning now to the planet which for us is the most momentous, we find reason for believing that the earth is by no means like the moon, but is at present—and long will continue to be—in the stage of decided progress in determinate multiformity. The reasons are two-fold:—

1. The earth's bulk causes her to part with heat more slowly than a smaller planet like the moon.

2. The continuous supply of molecular motion from the sun (which tends to disintegrate a dead orb like the moon) favours the heterogeneity of the earth.

It may therefore be laid down that the earth's evolution, like that of the rest of the system (*mutatis mutandis*) takes place by definite heterogeneity—with relative interdependence of parts.

She possesses two sources of energy; her own internal heat and the radiance of the sun. Though she may be many millions of years removed from her period of incandescence, it is evident from the occurrence of earthquakes and of volcanic eruptions that she still retains a great deal of heat, which radiates, however slowly, through the surface-crust. The action of the solar radiance, some of which is very obvious, is in other respects obscure. We have heard a great many theories of late about sun-spots, and their possible connection with the periodicity of drought and famine is of enormous interest in a country like India. But, in truth, neither the causes nor the effects of these spots can be said to be as clear as they may ultimately become. Sun-spots are now generally

* Some terrestrial elements have *not* been found in the Sun.

believed to be produced by jets from the cooler atmosphere surrounding the sun's incandescence, their descending current absorbing light for the time being. It has been established by General Sabine's register, that the maximum of these disturbances occurs when there is a maximum of disturbance in the earth's magnetism. It is now distinctly possible that these solar storms may be due to the action of some body of matter still larger than the earth. Some attribute that action to the planets Jupiter and Saturn, others, like Professor Tait, to Venus. Observations upon this, and also upon the specific effect upon the climate of the earth, are now being made in many different places and we must await their result before we can arrive at any more definite conclusions.

Meanwhile it is known that the solar energy in general is transformed on our planet into various forms of vital energy. Coal contains, it has been often said, "bottled sunshine"; but the same force exists in all the vegetable kingdom. Cattle feeding on appropriate vegetable diet, add nitrogen by the arrangements of their own molecules, and so become fitted for the nutriment of man and the carnivora; the most subtle of all these influences being those of tobacco and wine upon the human brain. Changes of tissue are the product; and these changes of tissue accompany changes in our consciousness. And molecular motions and rearrangements of tissue are highly differentiated forms of solar radiance, as is shown by Professor Fiske (p. 415.) Thus, while learning that the phenomenal world is built in cognisable forms by the agency of the sun, we obtain a glimpse of the working of the unseen Power whose visible garment is the infinite web of phenomena:—

"So schaff' er am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit." (*Goethe*).

We now approach what is for us the greatest of all cosmic mysteries, the beginning of life on our globe. Having a globe in a certain stage of refrigeration, why should a new sort of existence make its appearance, the one grand episode of specialised organism arising out of the bosom of inorganic matter? Materialism has been seeking for the word of this enigma by experiments in hay, broth, and other substances in a state of decomposition. But in vain. For, even if organised beings could be shown to be generated from the decay of other organised substances, that would scarcely help us to learn how they were generated out of substance not organised. Again, we hear of "protoplasm"; but all that we know of it only shows that it is but a very complex form of such compounds as might be formed when the earth was cooling. But specialised organisms require a special ancestry. Life is no doubt a step in the progress which such a planet would

make from homogeneity towards heterogeneity. But it is a step which has never been *seen*. Yet, neither has the step by which magnetism is inducted into the crystals of the loadstone; and here again, we are reminded of the unremovable barrier between the how and the why.

For a long time this knot was cut, rather than untied, by the doctrine of creation, or special divine action. But this doctrine only introduces greater difficulties, for it is a hypothesis involving assumptions that are uninvestigable and unverifiable, and the negation of which involves nothing that we cannot conceive. Ultimately it rests upon a basis of mere mythology. The other hypothesis, that of the growth of a globule of protoplasm into a special organism—does in some sort admit of being tested. In the growth of the "embryo we see the process going on; and though we do not account fully for the process when we say that a cell is a little mass of protein, combined with certain constituent elements of life, which has a natural tendency to add itself to other cells and gradually determine towards this or that organism, yet the statement involves nothing inconsistent with the general doctrine of evolution.

Side by side with that doctrine may be considered the law of natural selection, a principle first suggested by the great Goethe in his serene old age. In the year of Goethe's death, Mr. Darwin set out on that celebrated voyage during which the idea first occurred to him. With the patience of true genius he kept it to himself, reflecting and observing for eight and twenty years, and thinking, perhaps, of Paley's maxim, that "he alone discovers who proves." The general lines of the theory are now universally known, and almost as widely accepted. Stated modestly and tentatively, and with the chief objections fairly and strongly put by its own author, it amounts to this: The fecundating powers of plants and animals are so prodigious that in a few years we should see the whole globe crowded with any species whose reproduction could proceed unchecked. Hence necessarily ensues an internecine struggle for existence in which the weakest, excepting when aided by man, must succumb and disappear. Even man himself is not exempt from this law; and, in backward stages of his being, the weaker of his kind fare no better. But, when artificial ideas arise, man not only preserves his own weaker brethren, but also creates and perpetuates artificial varieties of plants and animals, the pedigree wheat, the garden rose, the race-horse, the pointer dog, &c., All these products, however, if he neglects them, cease by degrees to propagate their kind, and their

* For an exhaustive detail of the phenomena of embryology see Prof. Haeckel's *Evolution of Man*, a translation of which, with ample diagrams and plates, has just appeared.

offspring revert to the typical form. This is manifestly because Nature conducts her breeding operations on quite different principles; and with her it is not necessarily beauty or perfume, or capacity of use to man, but preservation and victory which command her favour. In short, it is only ultimately protective qualities, developed by use and by inheritance, which can maintain species. If we could imagine, for example, a continent peopled by a two-fold fauna, one-half predatory, the other vegetarian, there would be only four species ultimately preserved. Among the beasts of prey, the lion-class, which conquers by strength, and the panther-class, which gains its food by swiftness; and on the other side, the antelope-class, which escapes by speed; and the buffalo or bison-class, which protects itself by weight and courage. In point of fact, such forces are seen in daily operation; and forces known to operate *now* may be fairly assumed to have been *always* operating in like conditions. Objections have been brought against this theory; but they have been all so far met as to show that, here as elsewhere, nature is not static but dynamic, and that fixity of species is incompatible with ascertained facts.

Now, how does this principle act? Clearly by adjustment. The antelopes that cannot run fast enough are killed and eaten; these classes disappear, like the unwieldy dodo from islands visited by men carrying fire-arms. The carnivora that cannot catch quick prey or prevail over sturdy beasts with horns, are reduced to a minimum, as lions are being reduced in India. Only those species which can adjust their habits to their surroundings can endure. And thus the law of organic evolution is seen to consist of constant equilibration of organism with environment.

Our next step furnishes a basis for mental and social inquiry. The adjustment of which we have seen specimens, goes through the whole of life. For life is not a substance, or even a force, but rather a group of processes. You decide whether an animal is alive or dead by poking it with a stick. The cunning jackal, when the dogs have worried him, allows this to be done, so long as the treatment is not too rough. Push the body with the butt-end of your spear and it yields passively. But if reversing your spear you proceed to use the point, the crafty creature is betrayed; goaded into some movement of defence or escape, he shows at once that life is not extinct. Now, what is here shown in a rudimental form, is, in fact, a specimen of secondary alteration, anticipatory of secondary alteration in the surroundings. And life is "low" or "high" according to the complexity and perfection with which this correspondence takes place; while death consists in the complete cessation of the process. Ordinarily caused

by disease or outward shock, it yet occurs frequently in what is called "the course of nature." But what do we mean by that phrase? Simply this, that in the decay of time there has ceased to be maintained in the organism sufficient molecular activity to keep up the balance.

Moreover, the higher life is, the more varied become its surroundings. The rustic who dwells from cradle to grave in his own village, is often compared to the mole in his burrow. And rightly, so far that neither of them has heterogeneous environments. As the life rises, the surroundings vary; and so long as this process goes on the balance is maintained, but with ever increasing weight in either scale.

The formula may be thus stated:—Life is a continuous establishment of relations in correspondence with relations that exist, or arise, externally.

And a corollary follows, *i.e.*, that the greater the existing rate of progress in this process, the greater will be the future rate.

Consciousness (being thus observed to reside in a set of relations, rising in complexity with the ascending scale of life, between the organism and surrounding circumstances) cannot be explained by biological considerations alone. It belongs to biology so far as regards the molecular changes by which conscious activity is attended. Psychic action, however, implies more than this. The lion, the domestic dog, the savage man, display consciousness, but there is felt to be something more when we compare their limited preparation for coming events with that made by the astronomer weighing the sun, discovering a new planet, or foretelling a tempest or an eclipse. From this it appears, however, that mind is not absolute but gradational. This gradation takes place in the compound nature of the relations brought into the cognition of the higher mind. Yet, it is clear that even the most simple act of perception involves some comparison of relations; only the operation is simpler, or it may be said that while mere perception requires that sensations be *present*, the operations of the astronomer proceed by reasoning, which revives sensations that are *past*. The difference, however stated, is chiefly in degree; for the perception of the animal, or of the savage, kindles a certain amount of memory and association. Each act alike, though each temporarily excludes the other, is similarly an orderly succession of changes. But, just as a sense of difference, or analysis, is a more complicated process than the sense of likeness, or a simple operation of synthesis, so the higher life differs from the lower. And every mental faculty is acquired by slow degrees, however fitted the mind may be to acquire it. But

there is no gap or break of continuity from the reflex contractions of a polypus to the production of Newton's *Principia*.

The actual genesis of thought is certainly an "unknown quantity." As certainly it can be shown to be dependent upon a process that is not metaphysical. The attempt to identify mind with material motion is no doubt chimerical, yet an examination of the structure and functions of the nervous system shows that there is such a correlation of evolution between nerve-structure and psychic function that it is possible to reduce the expression of both to a common evolutionary formula. The human brain, the terminus of the nervous channels, is enormously nourished, one-fifth of the blood of the body being sent to it at each pulsation. It is supposed that the various relations are received through the *medulla oblongata*, those of space by the *cerebellum*, those of time (cause, motion, sequence, memory, progress) by the *cerebrum*. Experiments appear to sanction this view, which, if true, explains why the *cerebrum* in man is so much larger and more complicated than in the lower animals. All animals inherit certain innate connexions caused by the past experience of ancestors; although man, as having to deal with more varied surroundings, is more indebted than the beasts to his own experience; and the more so as civilisation becomes richer and more varied. Hence, "blood" is more important in dogs and horses than in man, and more important in backward states of society in the case of man himself. Force acting in the line of least resistance, the reflex messages conveyed from the brain to the organs are more readily sent along what are a sort of beaten tracks. New association involves the opening of a new transit line. It is proverbially "difficult to teach an old dog new tricks." But man has to face this difficulty, and the man who does it best will be the best man. An undeveloped man will perform the semi-conscious operations of shooting, playing at games or upon an instrument, when once he has learned the habit; for the resistance to undulations of force along the beaten lines has disappeared. But there his power ceases.

This theory explains many problems. It reconciles the experiential doctrines of Locke and Hume with the teaching of Plato and Kant; showing that, while all knowledge is due to experience, the nervous system comes into being with certain inherited predispositions; and thus, experience is by no means all of our own acquiring. But it is curious to find that those innate ideas, once thought of "so nobly," are less the property of man than of beast. Hence arises the exceptionally long duration of the period of infancy in man, from which, as we shall presently see, the most momentous consequences have arisen.

But first we must pause to note another important solution presented by what has just been seen. The proper development of the individual (and of the society made up of developed individuals) is dependent upon cultivation. Many persons, some calling themselves liberals, have protested, with something resembling hysterical alarm, against any such notion as that of science in history. Other knowledge, they have argued, may be classified and reduced to laws, but to introduce this method into the study of man and his doings, is to dethrone the will and degrade human dignity. Those who accept what has been here stated will not have this repugnance. They will know that, in the economy of kosmos there is no freedom beyond the circle of law—as Goethe long ago pointed out; and the law in this case is as follows :—

Volition is a function of the central ganglia, consequent upon reflex action, and needing for its expression the machinery of minor motive centres. Its formation, however, depends upon antecedent conditions. When nervous tension has been so set up, it must, unless counteracted, find its relief in action. In a word, consciousness tells us that we will, and experience tell us that what we will we do, other things being equal. Hence arise two moral obligations :—

First, we ought so to control our will that it shall not prompt to wrong-doing. Secondly, if it should so prompt, we ought to acquire the habit of resisting it. So far the modern Pessimism of Schopenhauer is not far from the conclusions of Evolution, though founded on very different reasoning.

To hold other views than those here expressed would lead to the curious conclusion that, while order rules the world of matter, it is absent from that of mind. Causation is not incompatible with freedom; on the contrary, absence of causation would really banish both freedom and law. The fact is, that, speaking psychologically, a man is only the sum of all his conscious states; so that when his acts are ruled by desire or by aversion, he is in each case ruling them himself. It is almost a truism to say that volition and action will follow the strongest motives, but a wide field of duty is opened when we dwell upon the thought.

This law of volitional discipline determines progress; nevertheless, it does not take effect uniformly in all times and places. This is, of course, owing to the great diversity of the phenomena by which the various races have been, in various times and places, surrounded. There is not in human nature any inexorable law by which man is bound to progress; and there have been races, like the wild men of Australia, who have not even shown the tendency, so far as can be learned. Taking the community as a con-

stant factor, for the sake of argument, the presence or absence of progress would depend upon the nature of the environment. The late Mr. Buckle made the mistake of thinking that this meant only the *physical* nature; and hence failed to account for many of the facts. Physical characteristics are, no doubt, important; but they are plainly not all-in-all, because the same race is seen to behave differently at different times in the same physical surroundings. The fact appears to be that, as Comte said, "the empire of the dead over the living is always extending." (Byron also speaks of

"Those dead, but sceptred sovereigns who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.")

Impressed by the accumulated experience of the past, progressive races make a science of history by which they learn what to avoid, and what to do. The discovery of one age becomes the instrument of the next; and improvement, once begun, goes on in something like geometric progression.

Buckle attributed the decay of the Mohamadan Empire of Dehli to the nature of the Arab race, by whom he believed it to have been founded. We, in India, know that this was not so. The empire was founded by a mixed race from Central Asia, by no means good Musalmans, or otherwise much impregnated with Semitic ideas. The fact is, that the Turkish empire in India was very prosperous at one time, far more so, as regards the arts of peace and true civilisation, than that of their congeners in Stamboul: and the reason is plain. The Emperors of Dehli, from Akbar to Shahjahan—a period of about one hundred years—opened their service to all competent men, and their seaports and the gates of their own palaces to all well-conducted visitors. And the country, during the century from, say, 1560 to 1660, enjoyed more prosperity at home and more prestige abroad than has ever been the case before or since.

Progress, in fact, takes place wherever, the environment being wide and various, the community is ever widening and varying its action to maintain equilibration. The original community was the family, then families associated to form the clans, and while communities remained so small it was possible to subordinate the interest of each member. In modern society all this has been altered. So far from "the individual withering," as Tennyson and Mill seem to have thought, the individual is ever "more and more."

At the same time men seek to associate themselves in larger and larger aggregations for civil and warlike purposes; and the civilised world tends to form itself into a few great empires. Whether these again will ever be fused into a general federation is for the future to decide. Such was the dream of Henri IV. and must still be the aspiration of generous minds.

Parallel with this co-ordination is seen to proceed the growth of *contract*, and of individual rights. *Status*, and the organisation by families, however needful for growing races, soon cease to benefit communities in advanced development and accordingly pass away.

The law of social progress, therefore, however it may contain peculiarities of detail, resembles the law of general evolution already stated, in being an advance in definite, coherent heterogeneity. Its main peculiarity is that, whereas in organic evolution individual parts are entirely subordinated, in social evolution each constituent of society, being himself an organism, tends to preserve a growing independence. It was neglect of this that chiefly caused the errors and exaggerations of Mill's otherwise fine treatise on *Liberty*.

The next important question is this: if society, as we understand the word, tends to preserve the interests of the individual, is that a sufficient cause for what Comte calls the decay of egotism and the substitution of altruism? The reply is that, with given circumstances, it is so. Comte did not create the science of "Sociology," because he failed to formulate the law of evolution; without which the genetic sub-science must in this, and in all cases, be wanting. Altruism is not, indeed, consciously, substituted for egoism. For mankind is not governed by ideas, but by feelings; it is *from* social conditions and character that ideas are born, and it will be found that in all societies of the old type the feelings are egoistic, and the conditions are unfavourable to the birth of a higher idea. Each family, sufficing for most of its own wants, fails to cohere with the other families; and such altruistic conceptions as may exist are controlled by custom and confined to a narrow sphere. Lastly, civilised society, thoroughly appreciating and appropriating the principle of division of labour, organises a professional army which is immensely efficacious against the armed nations of the old civilisations. Instances abound in history, especially in the contests between the Greeks and Persians, and, until other causes broke it up, the defence of the Roman Empire against the barbarians. Modern Germany has renewed the barbarous practice; and, aided by civilised appliances, has gained a present success. How far she will be able to maintain her present military system, without forfeiting the benefits of civilisation, remains to be seen.

Meanwhile we can at least perceive two things. The continuous adaptation accompanying civilised progress has altered our views of cause, and given rise to a new philosophy of kosmos. By so doing it has struck a fatal blow at the supremacy of Germany in the regions of thought. Let us hope that it will involve a corresponding influence upon her present militaristic organisa-

tion, and lead her, in company with other civilised nations, upon the path of industrial and social progress.

For it is to be remembered that the process is by no means natural, or independent of sustained and conscious effort. The example of many an Asiatic country shows that this is the case even among Aryan races. The course of events is so far determined by great men that they warm and stimulate the emotions of their countrymen. But in the long run, it is mainly a matter of natural selection, those attributes being preserved which protect the society against the attacks and encroachments of its neighbours. In rude times this principle operates by actual conquest; in more advanced states, industrial superiority prevails by the belief in potential conquest. So viewed, economical France is ultimately stronger than victorious Germany; and the latter is secretly conscious that it is so.

It is a curious thing that among the original preservatives of nations is one which becomes a danger later in their life. This element is custom. For instance, the peoples of India, abounding in good gifts, have made more than one attempt to progress; but the inherent faults of the family system, and the maritime insulation which has been the rule throughout her history have combined to produce a crust in which India's moral freedom has become, as it were, ankylosed. Custom (*dastur*) is her curse.

Another reason for encouraging variations of individual character, besides the general reasons for dreading the ossifying force of custom, is the danger of losing military skill. When France met England in the Peninsular war, it was not only numbers that favoured the former nation, but it was "the career opened to talents" of her great military organiser, when in the eloquent words of Napier "every soldier fought in the blaze of Napoleon's glory." It was not until the hide-bound system of the Horse-guards had been despatched, in the persons of a Burrard and a Dalrymple, that the other advantages of the British undertaking had fair play. If we ask how it is that our Europe in general has been so greatly freed from these morbid influences, in the hands of races whose kindred have succumbed to them in Asia, we can but suggest that it was the lovers of custom, the majority in most cases, who stayed at home, while the rebels, the lawless, the adventurous, set forth to colonise west of the Volga. Finding themselves at once in the midst of multifarious surroundings, and being naturally disposed to freedom, they laid the foundation of that social progress which is now scarcely to be seen anywhere but among their descendants.

And, when the colonisation had quite succeeded, and when the great Roman Empire had organised a uniformity of system over

by far the greater portion of the civilised world, it is to be remarked that the Roman Empire itself took the road towards custom and ossification. The seat of empire was transferred to the Bosphorus, and there all sorts of orientalism began to take root. At this critical epoch appeared the Christian Church, which, catching up the torch of œcumenical civilisation, from hands that had become unfit to hold it up, restored the cause of European progress. Opposite to her, revived, in another form, "the Holy Roman Empire" of the West; and the antagonism of these two factors created modern civilisation by encouraging the merits of individuals without the sacrifice of concentration.

It only now remains to see how the above considerations establish the physical aspect of man's genesis, both in moral and intellectual respects, and show that the gulf at present existing between the lower animals and the civilised man, is no real difficulty in the way of the doctrine of evolution.

Taking the Chimpanzee as the animal in all respects nearest to man, it has been found that the brain of the former animal has only one-third of the cubic contents of that of the latter; there being 35 cubic inches in the brain of the Chimpanzee against 114 in that of the civilised man. Between the two, however, comes the brain of the primitive man, far nearer to the lower than to the higher. The brain of the indigenous Australian contains 70 cubic inches only, and the brain of the earlier man must have been even less for numbers of generations. Modern research computes 20,000 generations as the duration of the "stone-age," throughout which, however slowly, the brain of man was constantly on the increase. Since the far distant dawn of Egyptian civilisation the progress of man (wherever he has progressed at all) has always been characterised by constant attempts to maintain a correspondence with environments. The *cerebellum* has borne a smaller and smaller ratio towards the *cerebrum*. Man, as he has progressed in mental adjustment, has even lost some ground in keenness of sense, and in faculties needed in a state of nature. But his knowledge of the *time relations* has been constantly increasing. Even the lower animals are not wholly without these. Beasts of prey know when to begin prowling; birds know when it is the time to migrate; and the river porpoise of the Ganges (*delphinus gangeticus*) is aware when the end of the monsoon is at hand, and seeks the mouth of the river before the upper waters can shrink and leave him on the shoals. These ruder instincts take first, with man, the faculty of numbering days and lunations; progress from which has begun when sky-phenomena have begun to be linked with earthly conduct; but in these respects Europeans differ more from Bushmen than these do from the more intelligent

of the beasts. And quantity of knowledge is accompanied by improved quality, so that specific accuracy is obtained. This boundary line is not between man and beast, but between the higher and lower man; and when once it is passed, physical variations become less and less important. It is now the variation in brain (not only as to size but as to complexity) that becomes influential. It is not to be expected that in future any zoologic form will arise higher than man. The dominant fact in human progress is cerebration shown in civilisation. The contribution from the emotions is the final completion of the series.

Utilitarianism is the system of ethics required by the facts of life. Actions tending to increase the fulness of life are attended with pleasure, those which tend to reduce it, are accompanied by pain. Yet mere hedonism is insufficient for complete equilibration, for it is "fulness" for the community, and not for each of its members, that constitutes right living. And even of this the pursuit is not, for the most part, undertaken consciously. The interest of the family is the earliest factor of social evolution, but it leads eventually to the preponderance of psychical change. Then arises the nascent public opinion of the clan; and this is followed by the birth of regret and remorse, when it is seen that our neighbours resent acts by which we harm them, and short pleasure is found to be followed by long pain. (*vide* Darwin's *Descent of Man*, I. 87.) And these sentiments prepare a foundation for the "moral sense." The additional element required is added when love of one's neighbour is embodied in self-love; and the sense is consolidated in long periods, by the law of use and disuse, till abhorrence of egoism and choice of altruism become almost instinctive and unconscious. And so, at last, Epicurus is reconciled to the Porch. Certain acts are raised from the category of *mala prohibita* to that of *mala in se*, finally we reach, when to this unregenerate morality is added the conscious pursuit of duty for its own sake—practical religion, when to violate a decree of Nature is looked on as a sin against Nature's Lord. Or rather, Nature is now regarded as a Power made manifest in causally-connected phenomena, and as such, entitled to loving obedience.

Such (though in a crude and too Concise Summary) is the circle of the sciences as derived from the principal evolutionists by the aid of Professor Fiske. If it should succeed in giving any indication of the scope and results of a properly systematised study of the universe, its object will be fulfilled. That there is a unity in the whole, from the evolution of a planet to the regulation of a citizen's conduct, cannot be a barren conclusion; *και δια τουτο* (as Plato says in his poetic manner) *το όλον κοσμον καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ακοσμιαν**

Before concluding, two objections may be briefly noticed :—

It has been shown that the interval between the intelligence and moral sentiments in man and the other animals is no gap in the scale of evolution. Still it may be asserted that the *physical* difference constitutes such a gap. In this point of view, the reception of the doctrine is conditional on the discovery of the famous "missing link" which is thought impossible. Now, for those who find a difficulty in believing that the slight difference between the anthropoid ape and the primal man, required an intermediate form, it may be well to offer the following considerations. First, the non-production of one link is not so much a defect in the chain of sequence as a *hiatus* in its representation. If the history of George IV. were lost or suppressed, there would still be no lack of proof that the Reform Bill and Catholic emancipation were prepared by Mr. Pitt. Secondly, the alleged gap is, in any case, too small to affect the argument. The difference between the lowest and highest human brain, without any exterior physical modification to speak of, is greater than that between those of the lowest man and the Chimpanzee. It is quite conceivable that the "missing link" may never have existed, or may never be discovered.* A whole Continent has been submerged in the Indian Ocean; and that is just where the most anthropoid apes may fairly be supposed to have existed. The *Palæopithecus*, recently found by Mr. Theobald in the Punjab Siwaliks, points to the existence of a form much more allied to man than any previously known. Before the discovery of New Zealand no one supposed that wingless birds had existed in the present epoch of the world.

The other objection is less purely material, and is more specious than the first. It is urged that Nature is not moral, and that the following of Nature by man would not lead to moral results. In particular, the "survival of the fittest" is a mere expansion, of the maxim "occupet extremum scabies!" Whereas a sound ethical system teaches that it is the weak to whom our aid is chiefly due. But to aid the weak is not to follow, but to thwart Nature.

This statement, however plausible, involves an essential fallacy. There is no such being as is here assumed under the name of "Nature." The universe, as known to us, consists of a sequence of phenomena modified by human consciousness and even co-operation. If on one side these phenomena range themselves on the side of strength (which they most certainly do), not the less is it the interest of social and civilised man to exert an opposing influence. An instance of this is shown plainly in his killing beasts

* The so-called "wolf-boys" of the Sikandra Orphanage are perhaps specimens of his re-appearance.

of prey, and preserving beasts of burden and of food. But he does more. By a rule of mutual sympathy and help he introduces a moral order which evolves society, just as the rudimental kosmos evolved the solar system. It is, no doubt, misleading, as Alphonso, King of Castile, surmised long before Copernicus, to suppose man the centre of the solar system, or that its forces, in their present state, were designed for his sole service. But it is in accordance with the deepest philosophy, to believe that man is the centre of the phenomenal universe, *as modified by the relative action of his own consciousness*. Further, do what he may, he can never frustrate one of its laws, nor aid the weak to perform impossibilities. That subjection to the "survival of the fittest" is man's shadow, from which he can never jump, though its reduction to a minimum may be the best discipline and the first of moral duties.

The above sketch appears to establish an important conclusion. Man being more indebted to acquired, than to inherited, experience, has to go through a far longer period of helpless infancy than the other animals. This necessitates the prolonged cohabitation of his parents, and lays the foundation of the family. From family life arise the first rudiments of social and moral obligation. But they are not so completed. These rudiments may carry man across the Rubicon which separates his cerebral power from that of the less reasoning animals. But they do not carry him much further. Man has thereby acquired an unknowable element which allows him to set volition to work at, and control, his mental habits. But he has acquired no more. The rest must be left to the work of his emotions.

The natural man has no love of what is good and right in itself, none of that passion for excellence which animates the saint, the martyr, or even the perfect citizen. That step in moral progress must be inspired by a higher and warmer development. Yet, it is to be kindled and encouraged by looking through nature up to nature's God. This has been the feeling of good and wise men in Europe ever since the idea of obligation to the Unseen arose; especially is it needed for this country, whose best citizens are still slaves to mythology or to metaphysic. In the words of Sir H. S. Maine, "here in India the conditions of truth are plain. In the fight, which the educated Hindu, which the Christian Missionary, wage against error, such success as.....will be gained, evidently depends on physical knowledge" [*Vice-Chancellor's Address*, 11th March 1865.]

Let not the friend of old creeds be alarmed at the prospect of their partial decay. The decomposition of the seed is necessary to germination, no less in the moral, than in the physical world.

Evidently the students of the university are already disposed towards scientific subjects. In the M. A. Examination, where the study is compulsory, the results have been most gratifying; and Mr. Croft (the President of the Faculty of Arts) testifies that those who pass this examination are the only really educated product of the university. What seems wanting is a recasting of the B. course, from the point of view of a reasonable synthesis, and the requiring of a certain proficiency in that course for the diploma of B.A.

The idea is no novelty to the Brahmins. The old masters of the Hindu mind, though without the aid of Bacon and Newton they did not hit upon the most accurate or fruitful methods, formulated the true ideal of philosophy in the *Sāṅkhya*, or Vedantic synthesis, which has always continued to be one of the recognised orthodox systems of thought in India. Nor is there any reason to apprehend difficulty from the students. From the report of the Calcutta Syndicate for 1878-79, it seems that the study of science, though neither enforced nor organised as well and systematically as might be, is steadily growing in favour and success. Of the B.A. Examinations it is reported that, out of a total of 373 candidates, 191 took up the "B." course," against 138 in the previous year. This is in entire harmony with the gradual progress of past years, and unmistakably shews the spontaneous movement of the young men's minds. It is further interesting to learn that the science candidates were more successful than those who went up in the other subjects; for while the A. course only passed 21 *per cent.*, the B. course, out of a larger number, passed 32 *per cent.*; the numbers being 29 in the former examination and 62 in the latter, or more than two-fold.

But, at the same time that the most vigorous Hindu has this precedent for accepting the scheme of study here adumbrated, it is also one at which the most scrupulous Christian need feel no alarm. The strong language of certain positivist writers has been wrested into an argument that all the upholders of the relativity of knowledge necessarily ignore the deity and loosen the bonds of moral obligation. Nothing can be further from the truth than these suggestions, if they are intended to have this general application. It may be that the followers of Comte, with their "worship of humanity" may justly incur the charge of Atheism. With that we can have no concern. As to conduct the matter is still simpler, though it demands a further treatment.

A recent *Pall Mall Gazette* contained an article on the "Sanctions of Morality," in which it was denied that orthodoxy of belief is necessary to conduct. Yet well-meaning persons in all ages, down to young Mr. Mallock of to-day, have defended persecution

on this ground. Society has a right, we are told, to punish anything that tends to make its members bad citizens. The question of persecution is one into which our present purpose does not require us to enter; only this much need here be said, that a doctrine which pretends to justify rulers like Charles IX. and Phillip II. comes before the tribunal of this nineteenth century with a heavy *onus probandi* weighing upon it. But the fact is that a man's opinions about the unseen world have very little to do with his behaviour in this. Ordinary religious belief may be a factor in the formation of character; it has scarcely any influence upon our course of conduct. A man's actions are determined by a variety of causes, but his views of theology have no more place amongst them, in most cases, than his views of spiritualism, homœopathy, or the Tonic Sol Fa. We are told by Boswell that, in a conversation on the expectation of a future state, Dr. Johnson observed of a gentleman of their acquaintance—"Sir, if it were not for the notion of immortality he would cut a throat to fill his pockets." On which Topham Beauclerk remarked, "in his acid manner," that the person referred to "would cut a throat if it were not for the fear of being hanged." The man of the world was wiser than the professional sage. Countless instances, both of heterodox virtue and of orthodox vice, might be cited in support of his "acid" remark. Public opinion and an efficient police have more to do with conduct than speculative opinions or "notions." A man will live the life of his society, if he be otherwise qualified to do so, no matter whether he be a Jew, a Papist, a Pelagian, or a Sublapsarian. For it is obvious that no influence from public opinion, nor even the fear of its most efficient police, will keep a man straight whose character is warped, so that his conscience is insensible and his motives are hopelessly wrong. Here, no doubt, is scope for the influence of religion, not, however, in the shape of theories about the unknown and unknowable, so much as in the purification of public opinion by healthy emotions and principles kindled by their touch. Hence arises the desire, among earnest moralists, to neutralise the teaching of Comte and his school. Convinced, as the evolutionist is, that the worship of humanity is præ-Copernican and erroneous, he combats it, not so much on account of its speculative error as for its insufficiency as a ground of public opinion and sentiment. He knows that many a positivist is a man of pure and beneficent life. But he does not perceive in positivism the means for a permanent guarantee of character and motive. He sees the perplexities about the divinity into which anthropomorphic conceptions led the late Mr. J. S. Mill; and he attributes to them the fact that Nature appeared such a frightful chaos to that distinguished thinker. His own knowledge

of psychology may not be very complete : indeed the exact nature of the power that acts upon the brain may never be understood. But he knows that, like all other forces, it must *act in the direction of least resistance* ; and he knows that he, and therefore every man, has the means of creating channels of thought and action by which he can become habitually clean and noble, alike in character and conduct. Consequently he holds that, in order to form a good and orderly society, it will be a great help to suppose a First Cause that favours order, " a power, not ourselves, that makes for Righteousness." And here, undoubtedly, is a religion suited to influence conduct, not indeed directly, but yet with constant action. It is, however, sometimes argued, by persons chiefly of positivist tendencies that the doctrine of Evolution and a First Cause contains gaps which may be filled in a destructive way by new discoveries, and that it is not sufficiently *certain* to form a basis for the formation of character. It is admitted that it forms a noble principle of action and sets before man the task of ever aiming at a higher standard. But it is reproached with its inability to reveal the *nature* of the First Cause which it claims to prove or seeks to postulate. These difficulties exist chiefly in the minds that raise them, and are due to the old habit of taking statical, rather than dynamical, views of life and of the world. There are no real "gaps" in the doctrine of Evolution. The *Descent of Man* is only a small branch of the subject ; and in the *Descent of Man* there are, and may always be, gaps. But the doctrine in general is that of the constant equilibration between organism and environment. And that doctrine—whatever record leap to light—is not likely to be overthrown. The First Cause is more than postulated—the followers of Evolution consider it proved. But they do not attempt to describe its *nature*. Being absolute, it cannot be cognised by relative faculties. But the things which it causes, are moved in order and evolved in due sequence ; civilised society moreover being, for man, the last and most orderly of these products. The followers of the doctrine therefore believe themselves justified in holding that they have a clue to the labyrinth of life, a compass in the voyage that is before them, which can never be lost but by their own neglect.

ART. IV.—RAVENSHAW'S GAUR.

Gaur ; its Ruins and Inscriptions. By the late John Henry Ravenshaw, B.C.S., Edited, with considerable additions and alterations, by his widow. [C. Kegan, Paul & Co., 1878.]

THE late John Henry Ravenshaw, being for several years Collector of Maldah, enjoyed exceptional opportunities for studying the remains of the Mahomedan cities which once existed within the present limits of that district, and, having attained to a skill in photography not often reached by amateurs, he succeeded, during his tours in the interior, in producing a series of very beautiful representations of the ruins which, often concealed in dense jungle, still bear witness to the wealth of the ancient rulers, and the greatness of the cities which they inhabited. It was his hope that the Government would have assisted him in publishing these photographs, with a historical sketch of the period to which the buildings represented belonged, but, in spite of the archæological interest attaching to them, this hope was never fulfilled, either in his lifetime, or since his death. It has remained for his widow to carry his wishes into effect, and she has produced a volume calculated not only to please the lover of the picturesque, but also to supply valuable material for the archæologist, and historical student.

Our knowledge of the history of early Mahomedan Bengal has advanced so much within the last few years, that the notes upon Gaur and Poroowa (Panduah) made by Mr. Ravenshaw had become obsolete ; but his widow has been fortunate in securing the aid of the late Professor Blochmann, of the Calcutta Madrasa, the man of all others to whose researches that advance in our knowledge is due. He, with the kindness and courtesy with which he always received such applications, has revised the historical notes to the extent of rewriting them, thereby raising the book to the rank of a standard authority on the subject, and it is melancholy to think that neither he nor Mr. Ravenshaw has lived long enough to see their joint work brought to light. Mr. Ravenshaw had copied a number of inscriptions for his projected work, but as many additional ones have since been discovered by General Cunningham and myself, the book has been made more complete by including in it a series of facsimiles photozincographed by Major Waterhouse. Further, the publication has been generally supervised by Mr. Arthur Grote, of the Bengal Civil Service, Vice President of the Royal Asiatic Society, whose notes serve greatly to enhance its value.

Those unacquainted with the localities will perhaps object to some of the photographs that they are dark and gloomy, but such as have been fortunate enough to visit them will rather wonder how such clear views were obtained. Many of the ruins are surrounded by thickets so dense that the traveller may ride past within a score of yards without becoming aware of their existence, so dense sometimes, and so full of the thorny bamboo, which especially affects their neighbourhood, that it is difficult with axe and bill to force an approach. Not only is the surrounding space overgrown, but the buildings themselves bear a thick growth, sprung from bird-dropt seeds, of grasses, bushes, and even forest trees, forcing their roots over and through the solid masonry to the ground, and gradually rending it in pieces. In several of the photographs, especially plate XVI, the Minar at Gaur, and plate XXXV, the Doorway of the Eklakhee Mosque at Porooa, the growth of the roots of the various plants of the fig family is well illustrated. In the latter case, it is only the free use of the axe that has prevented the closing of the doorway; indeed the luxuriance of Indian vegetation represented in these plates will perhaps be as interesting to the European whose eyes have not seen the reality, as the handiwork of the old Mahomedan builders. It was with an army of from two to three hundred bill-men that Ravenshaw fought his way through the thicket, cleared a standing place for his *camera*, and obtained views, often too partial, of the objects of his search. Even with this force he was often baffled, and unable to take in so extended a picture as the subject required, and this was especially the case with the great Adeena Mosque of Sikandar Shah at Porooa.

In many of the plates we must regret the absence of human figures, or some other standard whereby to judge of the size of the buildings. There is nothing to show that the Kotwallee Gate of Gaur (plate XIX) is over fifty feet high, while the doorway of the tomb of the saint (plate II), which is really, I think, about five feet high, or less, may, judging only from the photograph, be of stately dimensions. Creighton, if I remember his drawing rightly, rather exaggerates the height of the Kotwallee Gate, by placing an elephant under it. The pleasing addition of figures to several of the pictures leads us to miss them the more where there are none. The Ghât at Sadoollapoor (plate IV) makes a particularly interesting picture, from showing the groups of pilgrims coming down to bathe in the holy waters of the Bhagirothee, and in plates IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XVII, and some others, the introduction in the foreground of figures in the Bengalee dress, localises the scene, and points the contrast between Bengal of the past and Bengal of the present. Great as are the beauty and the interest of the

subjects, it would be very difficult, without the use of colour, to bring them so fairly before the public as they are brought by the clearness and technical excellence of these photographs, and by the artistic skill and taste with which, in spite of the natural obstacles already indicated, the points of view have been selected.

The ground first taken is the ancient city of Gaur, or Lakhnautee, which, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth or seventeenth century of our era, was frequently the capital of the Mahomedan princes who, either as independent sultans, or as representatives of the court at Delhi, ruled over Bengal, and the remains of which extend over a large area a short distance to the south of the modern civil station of Maldah. For the description of Gaur as it now is, the reader must turn to Mr. Ravenshaw's volume, from which some idea may be formed of its desolation, as regards human habitation, and of the abounding and luxuriant beauty which it owes to the plants, fostered by the moist heat of the climate, and unchecked by any human effort. The ploughshare being baffled by the numerous bricks imbedded in the soil : man has visited Gaur, since its decay, only to use it as a quarry for material. As Mr. Ravenshaw says :—

“Vandalism, as well as time, has contributed to the general decay of the ancient capital. There is not a village, scarce a house, in the district of Maldah, or in the surrounding country, that does not bear evidence of having been partially constructed from its ruins. The cities of Murshidabad, Maldah, Rajmahal, and Rangpur, have almost entirely been built with materials from Gaur, and even its few remaining edifices, are being daily destroyed.”

I cannot agree with Mr. Ravenshaw as to the construction of Rangpur (Rungpoor) from materials brought from Gaur, as there never existed facilities for water-carriage between the two places, and there are many other old cities much nearer to Rungpoor which would serve as quarries for material, and have lately afforded many tons of ballast for the construction of the Northern Bengal Railway. As regards the other places mentioned however, and many more that are accessible to the southward by some of the numerous branches of the Gangetic system, there is no doubt that Mr. Ravenshaw has rightly indicated the source from which they drew their building materials. Of this material the history, could it be ascertained, would be a strange one, and would throw light on periods respecting which we are still in the dark. None of the Mahomedan buildings now existing are earlier than the thirteenth century, but the materials of which they are composed, are in great measure taken from the still older buildings of an earlier dynasty, and from careful examination of many

fragments, I am of opinion, that Seeva-worshipping builders, before the Mahomedan conquest, converted to their own use bricks and worked stones which had formed parts of buildings erected by a still earlier generation of Booddhists. In Bogra, and neighbouring districts, I have examined undoubted Booddhist remains, belonging probably to the Booddhist Kingdom of Paundra Varddhana which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang in the seventh century, and have found a distinguishing feature of their masonry to be a large thin brick, nine or ten inches square, differing greatly from the little three or four inch brick of the Mahomedan period, and, indeed, of the present day. The brick-maker of Bengal finds it as difficult to burn sound bricks of these ancient dimensions, as he does the large bricks required by the Public Works Department. These ancient bricks I find in large quantities, especially in the older Mahomedan buildings, but mixed in the later ones with the small Mahomedan brick. The two still exist side by side, in many a *mahajan's* warehouse in the bazars of modern Bengal. Even should this view respecting the bricks be rejected, the Hindoo origin of many of the worked stones sometimes found in the old buildings, but often taken away from them, cannot possibly be denied. Mr. Ravenshaw's plate, XXXV, the doorway of the Eklakhee Mosque at Poroowa, shows how the Mahomedan builder has made use of a doorway of undoubted Hindoo workmanship, constructed by persons who did not use the arch, and even sculptured with the figure of a Hindoo idol. It may possibly be a Booddha, or possibly one of the Briarean conceptions of the later Hindoos, who in the attitudes of their idols were very prone to copy the work of their Booddhist predecessors. There is another Hindoo lintel, not shown in the photograph, in the tomb depicted in plate II, and plate XXXI also shows stones of Hindoo workmanship, similar to one imbedded in the top step of the Sadoollapoor Ghât, plate IV; and reminding me very much of doorways and carved pillars preserved in the Rajbaree of Dinagepoor, of which I am so fortunate as to possess photographs by Mr. Ravenshaw, not published in the present volume. There is scarcely an old Mahomedan building with which I am acquainted, which is not partly constructed of material taken from some earlier structure; pillars built into walls, or even inverted; joined to bases and capitals suiting them neither in size nor in pattern; interrupted fragments of moulding, and mutilated idols. Many an Arabic inscription is cut on the back of a slab which bears on its face the carving of a Hindoo god, and the most perfect specimen of the latter which I have met with, I found used as the lintel of a doorway in a Mahomedan court yard, supporting on the sacred image a mass of superincumbent bricks and mortar.

We have some little knowledge of the nature of the structures of the earlier Booddhist period, but we know comparatively nothing of the later Hindoo temples and palaces which Mahomedan conquerors found standing, and broke up as materials for their mosques, their tombs, their dwellings, their fortifications ; in a word, whatever they had occasion to build. General Cunningham has observed, in the course of his archæological researches in more western parts of India, how the existence of early Mahomedan buildings indicates the pre-existence of other buildings still earlier, the presence of which, as quarries for material, guided their architects in the choice of sites. The same is the case, in Bengal ; not only does every Mahomedan structure consist in more or less part, of earlier Hindoo material, but wherever we find that there was in the days of the early Mahomedans a great town, there we find traces that the Hindoos had a great town before them. For every brick building of which any sign remains, we know that thousands of the perishable huts of the poor have passed away, and we may further assume that every brick building which remains, indicates others yet older from which it was formed, but the great excavated reservoirs have many of them held water from times anterior to any brick edifice now standing. Wherever, as at Gaur, Ekdala, and Debkot, long tanks, running from east to west, testify to a Mahomedan origin, there earlier tanks, with banks showing a process of decay of longer duration, show by their great length from north to south that they were excavated when Hindoos ruled the land. It is one of these great sheets of water, nearly a mile long, that Mr. Ravenshaw has represented in plate I.

With so much Hindoo material still to be recognised as such, and so many tanks to prove Hindoo occupation, I see no reason to doubt the truth of the tradition which has come down to us assigning to Gaur a Hindoo origin. Its name, Lakshana-vati, strengthens the further tradition that it was founded by Lakshan Sen, but I do not find reason for believing that it was a capital city in the time of any ruler, either Hindoo or Mahomedan, previous to Hisam-ood-deen. The Mahomedan conqueror found the Sen king ruling at Nuddea, and I think it probable that there was another centre of government perhaps under another branch of the dynasty, near Dacca ; but I find no sign of Gaur being a capital. On the contrary Mahamad Bukhtyar Khiljee, and his immediate successors, seem to have made their head-quarters at Debkot, close to the modern thauna of Gungarampocr, in Dinagepoor. I have, in previous papers, fallen into the error of translating the titles *Gaureshwara*, *Gauradhipo*, and the like, used of themselves by Rajas of the

Pal and Sen dynasties, as "Lord of Gaur." I am now convinced that I was wrong. In the early inscription of Deb Pal, known as the Monghyr copper-plate, the Raja distinctly addresses the Gaura as a people forming the bulk, or the principal portion of his subjects. The Gaura are mentioned as a people in the Ramayana and other early writings, and I am convinced that in speaking of themselves as Lords of Gaura, the princes whose inscriptions have come down to us are alluding, not to any special locality, but to the people over whom they ruled. The Kingdom of Paundra Varddhana is known to have existed at the time of the pilgrimage of Hwen Thsang, and the expression also occurs in several of the Pal and Sen inscriptions, so used as to lead me to believe that Gaura was the larger geographical expression of the two, and included Paundra Varddhana, perhaps as one of its provinces. Various localities are mentioned in the inscriptions, as being the royal residences, but among them I do not find either Gaur, or Lakshanavati. As Næodunum of the Diablintes now bears the tribal name of Jublain, or Jublent, and as Lutetia of the Parisô has become Paris, even so the name of the Gaura now exists in that of the fast-decaying city of Gaur, but when the name was first applied to the city I am not prepared to say.

I have already mentioned that the earlier rulers of Bengal, after the Mahomedan conquest, made their head-quarters at Debkot. It was not for a quarter of a century that the capital was moved by Hisam-ood-deen Iwaz, to Gaur, which seems to have continued to be the seat of the government, until Ilyas Shah, in the middle of the fourteenth century, threw off the control of the sovereigns of Delhi, and began to rule as independent Sultan of Bengal. Ilyas Shah, his son, Sikandar Shah, and some of their successors, made Poroowa, from which several of Mr. Ravenshaw's photographs are taken, their capital; but in 1414 Jalal-ood-deen Muhamad Shah took up his residence in Gaur, and in his reign the city seems to have increased greatly in size and magnificence. Hosen Shah, the greatest of the Bengal Sultans, resided principally at Ekdala, and I think I have perceived indications that Barbok Shah lived a good deal at the place called Mostangurh, in Bogra, but neither of those places ever appears to have been a large city, and Gaur, if not always the royal residence, continued to be the capital until the overthrow of the last independent Sultan of Bengal by Sher Khan, the Afghan, in 1527. From its sack in that year Professor Blochmann dates the fall of Gaur.

From the remains to be seen at the present day, Gaur would appear to have been a narrow city, extending for ten miles along the eastern bank of the Bhagirotee, but Minhaj-us-Siraj,

who visited it soon after Hisam-ood-deen took up his residence in it, describes it as extending along both banks of the river. What the wanderings of the Ganges and its tributaries may have been during the last thousand or two thousand years, I cannot pretend to guess, nor in what succession the many ancient beds have been occupied and forsaken. There are signs of the flow of great bodies of water on the eastward of Gaur, and it is probable that there has been a time when a large portion of the Ganges' water flowed eastward along the course now taken by the Kalindree. As regards Gaur, however, the perfect preservation of the lines of fortification on the east, leads me to think that what now remains is the eastern portion of the ancient city. The river spoken of by Minhaj-us-Siraj ran perhaps very nearly where the Bhagirotee now runs, and gradually cut away its western bank, with the half of Gaur that stood thereon, working for itself a new channel, ever westward and more westward, and throwing up against its eastern bank a low alluvial slope, frequently flooded, and again dry, and reeking with pestilential *miasma*. To this action of the river may have been due the plague which swept away the inhabitants of Gaur in thousands, and is said to have caused the final desertion of the place, even as at the present time the river Poornobhoba, by working its way westward and throwing up an alluvial accretion on the east, is rendering Dinagapore more unhealthy and less fit for human habitation every year. Another capital, that of Tonda, grew to the south, or south-east of Gaur, and in its turn, by the changes of the rivers, has been utterly cut off from the face of the earth. Rajmahal afterwards arose on the further bank of the Ganges, was in great part cut away, and was then entirely deserted by the river, and in the meantime the Bhagirotee, ploughing its way eastward again, over the site from which the western half of Gaur had vanished, has again settled itself into a channel which must nearly represent that of the old river which once divided the great city of Gaur into two halves.

I think it probable that the decay of Gaur may have been due to the changes of the rivers depriving it of the great waterway which brought merchandise to its warehouses, and formed the means of communication with the central government of Delhi and the marts of upper India, and that the decay in its importance thus produced may have been the cause and not the effect of its ceasing to be the seat of the Government of Bengal. That seat must always, while any connection with upper India was maintained, have been either on the Ganges itself or on one of its great navigable branches.

It is probable that in ancient Gaur, even as in more modern cities in the same part of India, the brick buildings, which must have been either of a public character, such as mosques and forts, or the dwellings or tombs of the wealthier inhabitants, bore but a small proportion to the huts of the poor, constructed of more perishable materials. The abundant remains of brick-work prove that the city had attained to a very high degree of wealth, but there is no reason for believing that the condition of the labouring classes under the Mahomedan Sultans was such as to enable them to live in habitations of masonry, and we must conclude that, for every edifice of brick, Gaur contained two or three score at least of thatched huts, with walls of mat hurdles, or clay. This having been the case, we cannot expect to reconstruct in imagination, from the ruins and heaps of brick that remain, the wealthy city, teeming with inhabitants, of the sixteenth century, when, as Mr. Ravenshaw says, "the Portuguese historian, Faria Y Souza, describes it as containing '1,200,000 inhabitants, and as so crowded that, at the time of "religious festivals and processions, numbers of people were "trodden to death. The streets are stated to have been broad, "straight, and lined on both sides with trees to protect the population from the rays of the sun."

But, although there is this difficulty in the way of forming an idea of what the great city of Gaur was, the fort, or royal residence, was composed of solid work to such an extent that much still remains standing, and of the rest the foundations may very clearly be traced by any one who will be at the pains to remove the heaps of bricks to which the superstructures have been reduced; of the decorations, the carved bricks, and the sculptured stones, very much has been carried away. Mr. Ravenshaw speaks of elegantly carved marbles, and hornblende, but I believe the material of which he speaks is basalt, brought, as Mr. Grote has observed, from the Rajmahal hills. All the inscriptions, and such delicate carving as that shown in plates XXXI and XLIV, are in this stone, which cuts somewhat like a thick slate, and retains the mark of the chisel as fresh, apparently, as on the day it left the mason's hands. The pillars shown in these plates, and the coarser work are in a kind of granite, of which the weather has long ago destroyed the crispness. Indeed I have seen Arabic inscriptions in the basalt, some four hundred years old, perfectly fresh and clear, alongside of Persian ones in granite, barely a hundred years old, but perfectly illegible.

Mr. Ravenshaw has given a ground-plan of the fort and of the palace, and also six plates of its gateways, its walls, and

the Kadam Rasul Mosque which stands within it, besides the beautiful view of the Dakhil Gate, its northern entrance, which forms the frontispiece to the volume. It is scarcely worth while to notice an error with respect to the Bais-gaji wall. The height is not, as is stated in one place, sixty-six feet, or twenty-two yards, but twenty-two cubits, and is correctly given in the section shown on the margin of the ground-plan, as forty-two feet. The Indian cubit varies from seventeen to twenty-two inches, and a wall of forty-two feet is quite near enough to twenty-two cubits for Oriental accuracy.

It would be pleasant to treat in detail of the photographs of the Minar, the Golden and Painted Mosques and the great gateways of the city, but the limits of an article compel me to pass on to speak of Panduah, or, as the people of the country call it, Poroowa. Of Poroowa Mr. Ravenshaw says:—

“Though it cannot boast of such antiquity as Gaur, its remains afford stronger evidence than do those of the latter city of its having been constructed mainly from the materials of Hindoo buildings.

“Panduah must have been about six miles in length, but very narrow, not exceeding a mile, probably, in its widest part. Like Gaur it is covered with innumerable tanks, some of great age, and nearly all of them having their greatest length from north to south, as evidence of their Hindoo origin.”

My own observation quite corroborates that of Mr. Ravenshaw as to the quantity of Hindoo material, and traces of Hindoo occupation, in Poroowa. Some years ago, on the occasion of one of several visits which I have paid to the place, I was present when a tank, close to the ruins of the house of the saint Noor Kootob Alum, was being dug out and deepened, and was much interested in the stones of which the flight of steps that led to the bottom of it were composed. The greater number of them bore Hindoo carvings, and they must have been collected from extensive Hindoo buildings. As to the question of antiquity however, I think it quite possible that Poroowa may be much older than Gaur.

It is true that I am aware of no mention of Poroowa before the time of Ilyas Shah, but it is undoubted that there was a great city on the site before the Mahomedans took possession of it. It is now five or six miles from any navigable river, but it does not accord with what we know of the growth of towns in Bengal, that any place should become considerable unless it were readily accessible by water, and I am therefore led to suppose that when Poroowa was a great city, as at one time it certainly was, either the river Poornabhoba on the east, or the Mohanonda

on the west or south, must have flowed nearly under its walls. How Gaur has been deserted by its river, can clearly be traced on the present face of the country, and because it is difficult to recognise the traces of any similar desertion of Poroowa, I argue that a much longer period must have elapsed since the change took place. The narrowness of Poroowa to which Mr. Ravenshaw draws attention, is in favour of the supposition that, in the days of its greatness, it extended along the bank of a river.

Passing from speculations as to the pre-historic existence of Poroowa, I think we may date the first historical notice of it in the government of Ala-ood-deen Alee Shah, who struck coins from A. H. 741 to A. H. 746, and changed the capital from Lakshana-vati, or Gaur, to Firozabad, or Poroowa. This we know from the mint-mark on the coins. There were at this time two governors in Bengal, Alee Shah at Poroowa, and Mobarak Shah, succeeded by Ikhtiyar-ood-deen, at Sonargaon in Eastern Bengal. Alee Shah was murdered by Ilyas the pilgrim, and in A. H. 753 Ilyas was also minting coins in Eastern Bengal, having evidently by that time made himself master of the whole province of Bengal which remained a kingdom independent of Delhi, for almost two hundred years. Ilyas Shah entertained extensive schemes of conquest, and, besides subduing Bengal, he marched as far westward as Benares, thereby exciting the wrath of the Emperor Firoz Shah, who advanced through Tirhoot and Saran upon Poroowa, which was the residence of Ilyas Shah. It does not, however, appear to have been fortified, or at least of sufficient strength to encourage the Bengal Prince to await the attack of the Emperor within its walls. He went twenty miles northward to Ekdala, which is not far from the morasses representing the dead river Cheeramottee, and which the Mahomedan historian describes as rendered so strong a position by the surrounding inundations, as to compel the Emperor to draw off his baffled forces. Ekdala shows the remains of a brick building, and long tanks both Hindoo and Mahomedan, but I have not discovered traces of any fortifications or earth works. It is probable that, as the historian states, the waters constituted its strength, for in the reign of Sikandar Shah, the son of Ilyas, the Emperor was similarly foiled in a second attempt to recover the sovereignty of the province. But, although Ekdala was the strong fortress, Poroowa was the capital city of both Sikandar and his father. To the former it owes the construction of the beautiful Adeena Mosque, from which several of Mr. Ravenshaw's photographs are taken, and tradition assigns the palace commonly called Sataisgurbh to him as a residence. None of Mr. Ravenshaw's photographs of Sataisgurbh are published in the present volume.

From the ground-plan and the photographs some idea may be formed of the magnificence of the conception, and the beauty of the detailed execution of the Adeena. The caligraphy of its inscriptions exceeds, I think, that of any others in the neighbourhood, and the artist, Ghayas the Golden-handed, has recorded his name in them. In the whole building there is such careful finish, and such a total absence of that conglomeration of incongruous material, evidently from various sources, which forms a marked feature in most structures of the Mahomedan period, that my belief on first visiting it, was that the stone was not taken from earlier edifices, but hewn specially for the Adeena itself. So far I was right, that every stone was hewn specially for the position it occupied in this magnificent mosque, but I was mistaken in thinking that it was quarried for the purpose. Where the decay of the structure has exposed those faces which, when it was perfect, were hidden from sight, there Hindoo carving can often be recognised, and in plate XL, where the steps of the pulpit have fallen, we can clearly see the Hindoo sculpture of the human form, so odious to the intolerant Mahomedan. When this stately building, five hundred feet in length, and three hundred in breadth, stood perfect in all its beauty, the inner court with its surrounding cloister, supporting three rows of domes on its massive pillars, must have presented a spectacle unrivalled by any quadrangle in the world. The Badshah ka Takht, or Throne of the King, a stone platform supported at the height of eight feet from the ground by pillars, corresponding to those that bear the rest of the cloisters, and continued by lighter shafts above the platform to the roof, is a feature in architecture which I believe to be unique. It is shown in plates XLII and XLIII. It was probably built for the devotions of the Sultan himself and his family. It is melancholy to see the remains of this great work left without protection, except such as is afforded by the superstitious fears of the people; and I shudder to think what may be its fate should the Public Works Department invade the neighbourhood, and induce its contractors to quarry it for material. Tradition says that it was to the Adeena that the body of Sikandar Shah was brought when he fell in arms against his rebellious son on the field of Chatra, twelve miles to the east of Maldah, and it is probable enough that in the construction of this great building, he intended part of it to form a final resting place for himself.

Azam Shah, the son of Sikandar, and his son and successor Hamza Shah, both continued to make Poroowa their capital, and in the time of the Hindoo rebel, Raja Káns, or Gonesh, it was still retained as such. It is said that the renegade son of the Raja, Jalal-ood-deen Muhammad Shah, removed

the seat of government to Gaur, and indeed that to him Gaur owed much of its splendour and beauty, but it was in Poroowa that he was buried, and there is good reason for believing that it is his tomb which still exists entire in the building known as the Eklakhee Mosque from being supposed to have cost a *lakh* of rupees. This mausoleum is shown in plates XXXIV and XXXV, and I have already referred to the prominence of Hindoo carving in its doorway. It is eighty feet square and is covered by one perfect dome, a triumph of architecture, which, as Mr. Grote has observed in a note, excited the admiration of General Cunningham.

From this period Poroowa was never again the capital, and probably never the royal residence. The former position was maintained by Gaur, but the Sultans do not appear to have always resided there. I have, as I said above, some reason for believing that Barbok Shah lived at, or near, the place known as Mostangurh, in the district of Bogra, although the present volume contains evidence that he was the founder of the palace and fort in Gaur, or at least of the main portion of them. Hosen Shah lived principally at Ekdala, whence he is said to have made a pilgrimage once a year to the shrines at Poroowa; but his tomb is shown in the fort at Gaur.

To these shrines it is due that Poroowa long survived its desertion by royalty, and, indeed, continues to exist as a small town to the present day. They belong to the Mahomedan Saints, Jalal-ood-deen of Tabreez, and Noor Kootob Alum. As regards the former, whose death Professor Blochmann dates in A. D. 1244; it is doubtful whether he was ever at Poroowa, and whether his shrine is not merely the foundation of some devout admirer. As to Noor Kootob Alum, however, he was a real personage, who lived and died at Poroowa about A. D. 1447. Besides his principal residence at Poroowa, he occasionally retreated to a cell at Deotalao, a few miles to the northward, and to another on the banks of the Mohanonda to the south. The ruins still standing show his house to have been of considerable size, and to have been constructed in great measure of Hindoo material. Plate XXX shows some pieces of sculpture, the meaning of which is not clear. I think it possible that the circular stone may have formed a part of the high ornament or pinnacle with which both Buddhist *stupas* and later Hindoo temples were usually crowned. I have seen a number of similar pieces at Debkot, and elsewhere, often with a perforation through the centre, through which, I conjecture, that a rod of metal, or perhaps a column of molten lead may have been passed, to retain it in an upright position. The simple people of the country consider them to have been the bracelets of a goddess.

The other carving represents the head of a crouching elephant. The square slab on its back, makes it appear as though it had formed a side support to a stair, or perhaps to the steps of a throne ; otherwise I should have thought it a fragment of the device of a lion or tiger, rampant over a crouching elephant, which is so common in Hindoo sculpture, but of which I have tried in vain to trace the origin or the connection with any particular dynasty.

Both shrines are richly endowed with land, and though the principal *Mutawalis*, or trustees, reside in Burdwan, and consume probably the greater part of the revenues, there is considerable expenditure on the maintenance and service of the shrines, and on the charitable entertainment of travellers and pilgrims. When I have pitched my tents at Poroowa, I have found all my camp-followers and cattle entertained at the expense of the endowment of the Saint Noor Kootoob Alum. Numerous inscriptions exist to show how many of the Sultans of Bengal paid their tribute to the sanctity of Poroowa, and I have already mentioned the annual pilgrimage made by Hosen Shah from Ekdala.

At the latter end of the eighteenth, and the earlier part of the present centuries, when the administration of the East India Company had not yet succeeded in reducing the country to order, the existence of these, and a few similar great endowments, was the cause of much disorder. The servants of the Company stationed in the interior, were in the first instance, and primarily, Collectors of the revenue. As magisterial powers, at first retained in the hands of the Nawab Nazim and his Mahomedan officers, were gradually entrusted to the Collectors, their magisterial or criminal jurisdictions were made coterminous with the revenue-paying estates of which they were in charge. Consequently, as the old Sultans, Hosen Shah and others, who had made the grants, had exempted the property of the shrines from the payment of revenue, these extensive estates were left absolutely without any police or magisterial supervision, and became a refuge for the predatory bands which harassed the country. It was in vain for the magistrates of Dianagepoor, Poorneah, or Rajshahye, to attempt to deal with these robbers, when they possessed a safe refuge in the jungles of Poroowa, where neither of those potentates could put the law in force. In armies of two or three thousand, calling themselves Fakcers or Sonyashees, and under the command of well-known leaders, these robbers marched about the country, levying contributions from the ryots, and burning and murdering where they met with opposition ; often standing up in arms

against the Company's sepoy's, and even killing the European officers, but oftener dispersing in the thickets only to meet again in the Saint's estates, and to plan fresh expeditions. For many years this was a sore trouble to the Company's officers, and to the present day there exist organisations for dacoity and crime in connection with some of the old endowments, though I am aware of none such in the case of Poroowa.

Mr. Ravenshaw speaks of a book kept at the shrine of Noor Kootob Alum, which appears to have been the same that Doctor Buchanan saw in 1808. I have often tried to find this book, and have been told that some Collector of Poorneah took it away and never returned it. I am only now aware that it was still at Poroowa in Mr. Ravenshaw's time. From all I have been able to learn respecting it, I judge it to have been a contemporaneous record, with dates, of very great historical importance. Its disappearance must be regretted by every student of Bengal history, and I only hope that these lines may meet the eye of that Collector of Poorneah who took it away, and induce him to make public its contents.

The remaining photographs in this volume are taken from old Maldah, so called to distinguish it from the present Civil Station, otherwise known as English Bazar. According to Mr. Ravenshaw, it is said to have been the place at which valuable merchandise was landed for transmission to Poroowa, and I think it probable enough that this may have been the case after Poroowa lost its nearer access to the water, which I cannot but believe it once enjoyed. The word *doh* which forms the second part of the name signifies a deep pool in a river, and among the many significations which may be attached to the word *mal*, that of "merchandise" may perhaps be here the most suitable. Besides several mosques of interest, Maldah contains a curious structure called Katra, or Katray, which may have been a fort, but was more probably a very strong Sarai for the protection of merchandise. In the neighbourhood of Maldah I have found several scores of inscriptions, many of them only verses of the Koran, but some of much historical interest, all of which Professor Blochmann has published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I explain this on the supposition that Maldah was a large place after both Poroowa and Gaur had fallen into decay, and that, while materials for building were being brought in large quantities from both ancient cities for its construction, the Mahomedan inhabitants of Maldah piously, or indeed superstitiously, preserved all stones bearing the sacred Arabic characters which they were unable to read. In my opinion it is much more likely that additional inscriptions may be found in Maldah, and other comparatively

modern Mahomedan towns along the bank of the Mahanonda, than among the ruins of the earlier cities to which they originally belonged.

I discussed the character and contents of these inscriptions so fully in the *Calcutta Review* some four years ago, when reviewing some of the late Professor Blochmann's historical labours, that I will not now go over the same ground. I must, however, draw attention to the excellence of the facsimiles by Major Waterhouse published in this volume. It would be impossible better to convey the character of the originals. Nearly all are in the old Arabic writing known as *Tughra*, with the exception of a rare specimen of Kufic, such as is shown in plate XLV. Several of the photographs show the inscribed slabs *in situ*, as in plates III, XII, XIV, and XXXII, but none so clearly as in the interior of the Adeena Mosque.

In plate XXIII Mr. Ravenshaw has given specimens of the carved bricks with which many of the buildings are, or once were, encased. I do not remember the carvings of a boar hunt spoken of in the doorway of the Minar at Gaur, plate XVI, nor whether they are in brick or basalt; I gather, however, that they are in basalt. None of the carved bricks in the Mahomedan buildings can compare in boldness of relief and variety of workmanship with the perfection to which similar work has been brought in the comparatively modern Hindoo temples of Gopalgunj and Kantonogor, to the north of Dinagepoor. The latter was finished in 1723 or 1724. It is about sixty feet square and is covered with carved bricks representing mythological groups, scenes of hunting, boating, and revelling, musicians, soldiers, and all the various persons composing a Raja's retinue all cut in a style far superior to that of the bricks of Gaur and Poroowa. The process appears now no longer to be known in the neighbourhood, but Doctor Buchanan has described how it was carried out in his time. The brick was partially burnt, taken out of the kiln, soaked a whole day in water, then cut exactly square, and smoothed on five sides by a small adze with a short handle, and by chisels. The figures or designs are then carved on the remaining side by chisels, and when the carving is finished, the brick is soaked in an infusion of tamarinds, and a number are put into an iron vessel with about a pound of oil for each, and they are roasted over a fire until the oil disappears. I believe the art has now been completely lost, at least in the districts of Dinagepoor and Maldah, in which it appears to have been carried to its greatest perfection.

Nor is this the only handicraft which the Bengalees have lost since the days when these old Mahomedan edifices were cons-

tructed. Not only would the dome of the Eklakhee, or the arches of many of the mosques, as shown in the photographs, be efforts beyond the skill of any workmen now to be found in the country, but even the burning of the bricks and the preparation of the cement are far superior in the ancient structures to anything produced by the natives of the present day.

I am taking leave of Mr. Ravenshaw's volume without much mention of the historical portion contributed by the late Professor Blochmann, but this is because I feel that my own historical knowledge does not qualify me to pass judgment upon his work. I have to thank him for introducing me to the study of the history of early Mahomedan Bengal, a subject which I believe him to have mastered more thoroughly than any man now living, and I am so convinced of his acquaintance with all accessible authorities, that I am content to accept his conclusions without question. In closing the volume before me I take leave of two valued personal friends, Ravenshaw and Blochmann, both victims at an early age to the climate of Bengal, and both leaving work unfinished which it will be long before hands equally competent can take up. I will not, however, give up the hope of some day seeing the publication of a second instalment of Ravenshaw's photographs, of which those now before us are but a specimen, and of hearing that the translator of the *Ain-i-Akbari* has left behind him material for the completion of his task, and perhaps some work upon the history of Bengal, giving, in a collected form, the information now scattered in various papers published in the Journals of the Asiatic Society.

E. VESEY WESTMACOTT.

ART. V.—MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

IN comparing our existing means of communication with our contemporaries by the agency of writing and printing, and of perpetuating our memory to future generations, we sometimes wonder how the ancients got on without the latter, and with such imperfect material substitutes for the former, and we are insensibly led to undervalue the means of which they did avail themselves, and with such success. There exists, indeed, in mankind an innate desire to live beyond the term of man's natural life, and to perpetuate the fame of great actions; and that feeling was as strong in the dim far-off centuries of the elder world, as it is now. Many a papyrus, many a vellum, many a clay vessel, has perished, while the everlasting rocks, and buildings, of such solidity, that they seem constructed to live for ever, still perpetuate the chronicle of events which took place before the epoch of written history.

Job in his agony cries out: "Oh! that my words were now written: that they were graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rock, for ever". This poor man's date and habitat are quite uncertain, but the writer of the book must have had some ancient inscriptions, telling old stories of sorrow before his eyes, when he penned these lines. In the land of the Hebrews such things were unknown: not one jot, or tittle, in the shape of a coin, or inscription, has come down to attest the greatness of Solomon or David, though their neighbours on the North, the Phœnicians, have left so much, and their neighbours on the East have left us the precious Moabite Stone, while the two countries in which the Hebrews so long tarried as captives, Egypt and Mesopotamia, teem with such monuments. We cannot say why this has happened, since the tables of stone were carved at the very earliest period of the Hebrew polity, and perhaps it was the very absence of such appeals to the eye that made the Israelites fall away from the Law, of which they were not kept fully informed.

In proposing to pass lightly over the whole subject of monumental inscriptions we must carefully guard against straying into the region of the palæographer, or the linguist. We must keep clear of alphabets, dialects, and such learned details. We have to deal on this occasion with the treasures contained in these earthen vessels, or, at best, the most reasonable interpretations that have been put upon them. We come, in inscriptions, face to face with

the originals, which the eyes of contemporaries saw, which their fingers touched, as they spelt out the letters and words. We have no fear of careless copyists or fraudulent fabrications here; where a later hand has tampered with the inscription, it tells its own tale. Sharp eyes detect on Egyptian obelisks the lines of ideographs, not entirely effaced by later ideographs sculptured over them, or the grammatical construction corrupted by the introduction of new names or words. If we can only interpret them truly, we can find out the passions, the nobility, the weaknesses of a forgotten era and people, and be able to reconstruct chronology and history on a safe basis.

It has been too much the fashion to devote time exclusively to the literature of dead languages, and neglect those that are living, the vehicle of living thought, the wonderful instrument, whose strings are daily tuned to be in harmony with the wants and tastes and refinement of a people. As regards the modern language of the East Indies we have already dwelt on this subject in this Review. Monumental inscriptions are a third branch of the great linguistic subject, too often neglected and overlooked, though sometimes supplying a literature equal in amount to that which has been preserved by the servile copying of generation after generation. The most attractive poem, or drama, is inferior in real interest to the living voice which speaks out from the silent gloom of the cave, the walls of the temple, the sides of the obelisk, the ruins of the old palace. We can find sermons there in bricks as well as in stones. The stones indeed cry out, while the tongues of the nations have long been silent.

The materials, used for such inscriptions were rock-hewn stone, metal slabs, pottery, bricks, and other smaller vessels, and the method was either inscription, intaglio, or by inlaying of metal letters. No period in man's history can be selected, as more addicted to the practice than another. Some nations are certainly more monumental than others; still we shall find instances through the whole length of Central and Southern Asia, Italy, Greece, the Islands of the Mediterranean and Northern Africa, and the length and breadth of the Roman Empire outside the above-mentioned regions. The subjects are most varied, from the boast of a conqueror, the curse of a priest, to the plaintive cry over the grave of a little girl, and the conditions of the purchase of an estate. The existence of most curious, and forgotten customs has thus survived to our times. In truth, these inscriptions are like bottles thrown at random into the ocean of time to be cast up at hazard on the shores of futurity.

It cannot always be asserted, or asserted at all with certainty, that these monumental inscriptions were intended for the informa-

tion of the contemporary public. Take for instance the grand inscriptions of Darius at Behistun, which were inaccessible at a great height, and not even to be deciphered with the aid of telescopes, which, again, did not exist at that period. The carelessness of the engravers, their want of skill and their ignorance, have then to be taken into account. The language, style of language, and form of script used, the absence of break at the ends of words and sentences, in many languages; the injury caused by the weather, if not by sacrilegious hands, all these are considerations which have to be reflected upon; and the result is, that monumental inscriptions appear in most cases to have been as much a sealed book to their contemporaries and immediate successors, as to us at this remote period, and to have been soon forgotten. Herodotus had never heard of the inscriptions of the Achæmenides, nor, in the voluminous Sanscrit Literature of India, is there an allusion to the tablets and pillars of Asoka.

Some palæographers have indulged themselves in the theory, that a monumental inscription found repeated in remote parts of a kingdom, or a geographical expression such as India, indicate that at that period all the people of that immense area spoke the same, or nearly the same, language, and used the same form of script; and yet a little consideration will shew how groundless and contrary to fact such a theory is. The erecters of monuments, and composers of inscriptions, seem to have been, and still to be, a very dull and shortsighted class. The Egyptian and the Assyrian, left their monuments in Syria in their own script and language; the Greek and the Roman would have scorned to use any other. The last thing which in their arrogance they thought of, was whether the passer-by would be able to read their vaunting boast. Nor have modern sovereigns outlived the egotistic folly of putting up inscriptions in the Latin language in most inappropriate places, and even men of letters and taste have erred, and none in a more ridiculous manner than that Earl of Elgin who gave his name to the marbles of the Parthenon, and erected a fountain in Athens with a *Latin* inscription, forgetting the glorious language of Pericles and the modern Athenian.

The geographical order is the most convenient, and we commence our survey with the overflowing remains of the Greek monumental inscriptions, which must have been a notable feature of the ancient world. Here we have the guidance of such men as Mr. Charles Newton of the British museum, great as an explorer and illustrator; Dr. Kirchhoff, and others. Owing to the increased facilities given to explorers in Greece and Asiatic Turkey, the number of inscriptions has swollen to nearly thirty thousand, and an enlarged Corpus has had to be published at Berlin, under

the superintendence of Dr. Kirchhoff. Mr. C. Newton has, in three late numbers of the *Contemporary Review* and *Nineteenth Century*, placed at our disposal the results of his unrivalled experience of the subject. He points out the importance of some documents, as bearing on the history of the Greeks, and of some as bearing on that of particular Hellenic states. He classifies the religious inscriptions into those relating to temples, to the ritual and ministry in these temples, to religious associations and clubs, to dedications and to sepulchral monuments. How large a portion of public and private life does this category traverse! We read how the spoils of war were divided, fines were exacted, treaties made, confiscated land granted to the temple to prevent its being restored on a turn of the wheel of political fortune. We find that the temples gradually became banks of deposit, and it is asserted that sometimes they had mints. We are let into the secrets of all the details of accounts, sales, leases, and amount of interest to be paid, and we read of the conditions imposed upon the architect of the building. Other inscriptions describe the duties of the priestess, or record the zeal and devotion of particular functionaries, their magnificence and hospitality. We read of the splendid processions, and pomps, and the ritual of sacrifice, of slaves being set free by a formula of dedication to a god, who thus became a guarantee of the enfranchisement. Human nature is true to itself, and then, as now in Roman Catholic countries, the shipwrecked sailor suspended a votive tablet; the healed invalid left a model of the suffering limb, the winner of a race a statue of himself or his horse. Thus an ancient temple, like an old church, became a kind of museum. And this was the practice wherever the Greek colonists had settled and the Greek language was spoken.

Even in the time of the ancient Greeks, industrious archæologists had begun to collect these epigrammata; great as has been the destruction, time has spared much that is interesting, and further excavations must yield up much more. We give some instances. A rustic, in digging a trench for the foundations of his cottage, in 1878, came upon an inscribed altar stone; the Secretary to the Archæological Society read with feelings of awe and ecstasy upon that stone the very lines which Thucydides, the great historian, had deemed worthy of being transcribed into his sixth book, a dedication by Peisistratus, son of Hippias, with a date anterior to 510 B. C. The oldest extant sepulchral inscription is that in the Island of Santorin (Thera), which contains the names of the deceased graver on the rocks in a character which cannot be later than 620, B. C. The battle of Potidæa was fought B. C. 432, and one hundred and fifty Athenians were killed.

The names once inscribed have perished, but time has been more just to the lower part of the monumental stone, and left the twelve famous elegiac lines to rouse the emotion of future ages, and to confirm the narrative of Thucydides. The Parian chronicle is supposed to date back to B C 263: it is a marble stone on which are engraved some of the principal events in ancient Greece, forming a compendium of chronology during 1318 years. The earliest Greek inscription to which a positive date can be assigned, is that on the rock of Aboosimbul in Nubia. A strange and romantic interest surrounds it. On the legs of the gigantic figures, carved out of the solid rock, and from time to time buried in sand, are certain characters in the oldest known form of the Greek alphabet, which record the names of Greek soldiers, who accompanied Psammetichus in pursuit of deserters beyond the most southern frontier of Egypt in the middle of the seventh century before Christ. The well-known Sigeœan inscription is one of the most celebrated palæographical monuments in existence; the characters are most ancient, and it is written line by line backwards and forwards, as if it never occurred to the writer who prepared the stone for the engraver, to lift his pen and commence a fresh line under the first letter of the upper line. This habit, so simple to modern Europeans, was not so self-evident as to be arrived at without an interval of the clumsy boustrophedon method. The purport of this inscription is to record the presentation of three vessels for the use of the Town-hall of the Sigeœans, a town near Troy in Asia Minor, and is written twice over, as if to make the gift more sure. A striking discovery was made only a few years ago in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. The bronze serpent which, according to Herodotus, the Greeks had erected at Delphi out of one-tenth of the spoils taken from the Persians at Platœa, had been removed by the Emperor Constantine to his new city. Late excavations have revealed to our eyes the inscription, exactly as the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides had led us to expect, of the names of the various Hellenic States who had taken a share in this great victory. This must be as old as 476 B. C.

Of a comparatively modern date, but remarkable for the wonderful preservation, and the nature of the record, is the great narrative of the events of the reign of the Emperor Augustus, which by a mere chance has been preserved in the town of Angora in Asia Minor. The original, as we know from history, was on large tablets outside the mausoleum at Rome, and has long since perished; but the text can be pretty well made up from this copy at Angora, and fragments of another copy found at Apollonia in Phrygia. No doubt many other sovereigns, in imitation of the old Egyptian,

Assyrian and Persian monarchs and notably Alexander the Great, and his successor, had done the same, and all the chief cities of the empire would follow suit, and put up copies in some conspicuous place, much in the same adulatory spirit in which statues of the Prince Consort have sprung up like mushrooms in many an English house. The only other extant specimen is found in the text of the Marmor Adulitanum, in Nubia, recording the triumphs of Ptolemy, which was copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes. Augustus mentions all the good which, in his opinion, he had done to the Roman Empire, from the punishment of the murderers of Julius Cæsar to the closing of the gates of the temple of Janus in the long peace of the exhausted world; he tells of his bequests to the people, his monumental works, his laws, and his battles, the extension of the limits of the empire to Ethiopia, the submission of the king of Parthia, and of Britain. At the close, he says that he wrote in his seventy-sixth year, and soon afterwards history tells us that he died. Space would fail us to enumerate more of the splendid remains of Greek epigraphy. The Greeks were in a very marked manner a monumental people.

The most ancient Latin inscriptions date from the third century before Christ and are very rare, but the continuity of inscriptions in that language may be said to extend from that period to the present time. Columns, triumphal arches, bridges, pediments of buildings, tablets on the rising rock, walls, pavements, and every conceivable corner that would hold an inscription, have been made use of, and countless specimens have come down to modern times, in every country which formed part of the great Roman Empire. Mediæval and pedantic modern Europe caught the trick, and, in place, or out of place, made use of Latin inscriptions, sometimes arranging the choice of words so as to express, by the use of Roman numerals in the body of the inscription, the date of the erection. In the Latin, as well as in the Greek inscriptions, there is a long list of recognized sigla, or abbreviations, which the interpreter has to bear in mind. There is a vast variety of spelling, and grammatical usages, considerably enlarging the narrow field of so-called classical Latin. The ignorant stone-cutter, and the scholar of the rural locality, have left their mark in breaches of rules of grammar.

The inscription on the Duilian column, erected by C. Duilius after his naval victory over the Carthaginians, bears date B. C. 261, and exists in the museum of the capitol at Rome, but some put them back to the time of the Emperor Claudius, and there is always the fear of restoration at a later period of an old monument. The inscription on the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, who was Consul in B. C. 298, was discovered last century in the

tomb of the Scipios. In the time of the emperors so freely were inscriptions used, that Gibbon remarks, if all history had failed, a sufficiency of inscriptions exists to record the great imperial tours of the emperor Hadrian.

Latin inscriptions contain matters connected with the worship of the gods, the ceremonies of religion, the public acts of the emperor, the names of officials, honours conferred on citizens, votive offerings, sepulchral dedications. A great deal of curious geographical and historical information comes to light. During this last year, the accomplished Superintendent of the Turin Museum, Commendatore Fabretti, shewed us his successful rendering of the inscription on the ruined triumphal arch at Susa, and pointed out the names of the numerous submontane tribes, who had joined in paying this honour to the Emperor Augustus eight years before the Christian era. In the famous rock inscriptions in Syria, at the river Lycus, the name of the Emperor Aurelius still stands as a memorial of the past. Far up the Nile, thirty-five miles above Assouan, the ancient Syene, to which Juvenal the poet was banished, at Kalabshe, is a temple of the Ptolemies, built on the ruins of a still older one of the time of Thothmes III. In it is a Latin inscription of the time of the Emperor Hadrian, comprising thirteen very fair hexameters, in good preservation and quite intelligible, and arranged so as to present the name of Julius Faustinus, the local authority, as an acrostych. On the colossal statue of Memnon, in the Thebaid, are a multitude of inscriptions from the time of Nero down to Septimius Severus, testifying to the credulity of the visitors of this miraculous statue, and among them is the certificate of the Emperor Hadrian that he had heard the divine voice. In the rocky defile where the River Danube bursts through the barrier of the Carpathians, the eye can make out the words inscribed in honor of the Emperor Trajan, 103 A. D., which neither time, nor weather, nor the fires lighted under it by an unsympathetic peasantry have been able to efface. This marks the road by which the emperor designed to support his Roman colony on the lower Danube represented by the modern Roumania, whose only surviving type of their Roman origin is that they speak a Romanee language. Ever and anon, across the abyss of centuries, comes a plaintive cry speaking to the heart; sometimes the farewell of broken-hearted parents to a tender daughter (*filix dulcissimæ parentes infelicissimi*) eighteen hundred years ago; sometimes a cry of agony of a daughter, who failed to save the life of a father, like the epitaph of Julia Alpinula at Avenches in Switzerland, or an inscription on a funeral to "*Diis Manibus patris optimi*." Sometimes we read of a wife lamenting her lost husband, and only a

few months ago chance has brought to light, under the shadow of the old Roman wall, a slab with the figure of a woman, and an inscription telling us in Latin that a legionary, a native of Palmyra, dedicated to his freed woman and wife, one of the British tribe of Catuvellauni, and to evidence his nationality he has scratched, probably with his own hands, in the cursive Palmyrene character, her name, and connection with him. Allusion must be made to the Capitoline Marbles or Fasti Consulares, containing a list of all public officers for several hundred years, up to the time of the Emperor Augustus. Though broken and mutilated they are perfectly legible, and are deposited in the capitol. The fragments of a calendar, giving the dates of the festivals, have also been discovered. Two classes of inscriptions are of special interest to us on account of our religion and our nationality, *viz.*, the inscriptions of the catacombs at Rome, and the inscriptions found within the limits of Great Britain. Both have been illustrated by monumental works. The number of these records preserved in the catacombs exceeds eleven thousand; and they supply curious details as to the turn of thought and manners of the Christian, of the first six centuries subsequent to the Christian's era. They are characterised by symbols and formulas peculiar to the Christian creed; the idea of another life, a life beyond the grave, usually prevails in them. Less well-known are the Roman epitaphs in Great Britain. We are astonished to find how the Roman legions had made their homes in these islands, though the stones bear witness to the presence in these legions of Thracians, Pannonians, Dacians, of Rhetians and Germans, and even of Asiatics. The record of untimely deaths of wives and children, which are found along the line of the great northern wall, show at what a heavy price of domestic sorrow Britain was held by the Romans, as British India is now by the British. Not only the nationality, but the religious ideas of these exiles are recorded on their head-stones, and we start to find that there was a time when in these isles the sun-god, Mithras, the Egyptian deity, Serapis, the Syrian Astarte, the Phœnician Hercules, and the "Divine Mother beyond the Seas," or "The Ancient Gods," were worshipped, and trusted in on dying-beds. Indeed, the dedication to the "Diis veteribus" reads like a protest of some old Roman conservative against the abominations of the Mithraic, and the novelty of Christian, worship, intermixed with which the grand old Roman cult still lingered. The Genii of the place, or of the great wall, Eternal Rome, the Divinity of the Emperor, Our Masters, the Augusti, and the Standard of the Camp, are constantly invoked over the grave of some stout soldier, who, breathing his last in the

wilds of inhospitable Northumbria, babbled about the capitol and the Via Sacra, and former triumphs in which he had played his part, and perhaps thought wistfully, as many a dying Anglo-Saxon youth in the Punjāb, or the Dekkan, has thought, of some sequestered nook in his far-off father-land, never again by him to be revisited. We have no sympathy with the bombast of the sovereign, or the base flattery of the Provincial Magnates to the new Augustus, but we are grateful that time has spared, in its insolent march, so many records of belief in a world beyond the grave, of patriot ardour, and the mild domestic virtues; and those who have left their loved ones in an Indian cemetery, may spare a sigh of sympathy, or a tear, for the many who in far-off ages preceded them in the path of duty and sorrow.

If any one doubts the value, in an historical point of view, of inscriptions, let him consider the subject in the light of those found in Great Britain. Let him consider the names of the emperors mentioned, the name of Hadrian, which occurs so repeatedly on the Northumberland wall, the name of Antonine on the more northern wall: the names of emperors, who reigned for very short periods indeed; the names of usurpers, or rather unsuccessful candidates; the name of Geta, erased after his murder by Caracalla, and the name of Heliogobalus, erased after his fall. Let him consider the insight gained into the system of government by proprietors, the municipal constitutions, the existence of guilds, and the mode of granting rights of citizenship. A book published at the time of Theodosius the younger, has come down to us, with a long list of the auxiliary nations who held the towns and stations along the south-east, and east, and north coasts of Britain, yet the same information is supplied by the inscriptions found upon tablets and altars. Amidst the multitude of dedications and invocations to Heathen deities not one single trace of the Christian religion is found, which drives us to the conviction that the existence of an early Christianity, represented by St. Alban, and previous to Augustine, is only a myth. For the abundance of Christian inscriptions in the catacombs prove that the early Christian converts did erect monuments; the existence of every variety of Asiatic worship proves the unbounded license allowed to religion; and lastly, when we reach the fifth or sixth century, we find, in Wales and Cornwall, large roughly hewn stones with brief sepulchral inscriptions, with crosses, in Latin, recording only the name and parentage, and written legthways on the stone, showing that British Christians had a desire to be remembered by posterity.

But there were races who preceded in Italy the genuine Romans, and who have succeeded in preserving their individuality and their language and form of character. These were the Etruscans and the Umbrians. There exist no less than five thousand Etruscan inscriptions, and their number increases annually. The character, though peculiar, is perfectly legible, but unfortunately only fifteen are bilingual, with a Latin version attached to the Etruscan original, and the language is not only dead, but extinct, all tradition having perished. Only two hundred words can be recorded in addition to names, and only five of the inscriptions have more than twenty words, the majority being very short and consisting of a sepulchral formula. It is as if we had to reconstruct the English language from the tomb-stone inscriptions of a few Church-yards. The language predominated in northern and central Italy from 800 to 400 B. C. and then gradually died out about the Christian era. Thus it happens that the Etruscan inscriptions have not contributed much to our knowledge of ancient history; indeed, they are still untranslatable.

The Engubine tablets are of greater historical interest. They are seven in number, containing a series of sacerdotal inscriptions in the ancient Umbrian language. They were discovered at Gubbio in Italy, in 1344, and are preserved in the museum of that town. They consist of no less than four hundred and forty-seven lines, continuous and entire, read from right to left. Five of them are in Etruscan letters, and date back to 400 before the Christian era. Two tablets in the Latin character are considered to be later by two centuries. They contain the acts of incorporation of certain priests, who had considerable authority. Allusions are made to deities unknown to the classical authors, and to sacrifices according to an early Umbrian ritual. A list is also given of the tribes who had a right to participate.

We pass over the Runic and Ogham inscriptions, which, though abundant and interesting from a different point of view, owing to their extreme brevity, present no historical interest. We pass over the mediæval inscriptions of the Latin, Teutonic and Slavonic peoples of Europe, as well as those of the Finns and Basques.

Though, according to the law of geography, part of Asia, the island of Cyprus occupies a position which has rendered it subject to influences from Egypt, Greece and Syria, as well as from Asia Minor. The discovery and decyphering of the old inscriptions of the Cypriote language is one of the triumphs of this generation. Extensive excavations at Idalium and Curium by Mr. Lang and General Cesnola, brought to light a vast number of statues and stone slabs with bilingual inscriptions, one of which was recognised as Phœnician, and at once yielded a meaning,

but the other remained a mystery both as regards character and language, until the penetration of the late Mr. George Smith established the fact that the language was Greek in a peculiar dialect, and the character a local one. The hint once given, the research was followed up by German scholars, and the peculiarities of the new Greek dialect were revealed. M. Breal, in the *Journal des Savans*, has given a full account of the progress of the discovery, and in the translations of the Society of Biblical Archæology are the text and translation of the inscriptions. They are indeed of no very particular individual historical value, but the circumstance that a forgotten dialect and character have thus been preserved, surrounds these inscriptions with first-rate interest.

We pass into Africa, not that dark Continent of south and central Africa, where civilisation has never shed a ray, but the countries on the coasts of the Red and Mediterranean Seas, and the Nile Basin, where Semitic and Khamitic immigrants from Asia have imported a very distinct and yet very advanced culture.

In the country of Abyssinia, interesting to us as the centre of an old Christian Church, and the scene of our late campaign, two monuments have survived of first-class historical interest. The earliest in date is that of Adûlé: it was copied and recorded by a trustworthy Alexandrine merchant, Cosmas Indicopleustes, whose works have come down to us, though the inscription on a Basanite tablet has perished. The copyist lived in the sixth century of the Christian era, but the tablet was even at that time old, for it recorded, in Greek characters, that Ptolemy Euergetes, the Third of that dynasty, B.C. 247-222, trained a brigade of African elephants, and conducted an expedition for the invasion of the coasts of both sides of the Red Sea, and into Abyssinia. He then returned to Adûlé, which was the basis of his expedition, and by chance, or owing to the convenience of the coast, was the very spot selected in 1868 by the English for the same purpose. At Adûlé Ptolemy reviewed all his forces, and left the memorial stone. Adûlé is represented by the modern town of Zarrul in Annesley Bay. The second inscription is at Axum, one of the ancient capitals of Abyssinia, full of ruins, and containing, among many of smaller size, one obelisk of granite, and standing, which reaches a height of eighty feet. There is, however, no inscription on this obelisk; but Mr. Salt, a companion of Lord Valentia, visited the spot, and found, not far from the church, an upright stone with an inscription in Greek character, recording that Aëizanas, sovereign of the Axumites and Homerites in Arabia, king of kings, son of the invincible Mars, suppressed an insurrection, subdued a people, and, in gratitude to Mars, who begat him, erected to him statues of gold, silver, and brass, for good luck. This king

was a contemporary of the Emperor Constantine, and is mentioned in a letter of the Emperor Constantine, 356 A.D. From these two inscriptions certain historical facts are ascertained which had been overlooked by contemporary chroniclers.

The inhabitants of North Africa, who are counted as the aborigines, as distinguished from the Greek, Phœnician, and Arab settlers, were known to Herodotus as Libyans, and to moderns as Berbers, whence the country is called Barbary, and is partitioned between the existing states of Morocco, Algiers and Tunis. Since the occupation of Algiers, French scholars have made the subject peculiarly their own, and we gather from the learned paper of M. Halevy in the journal of the Société Asiatique of Paris, that they are arriving, though slowly, at certain results. The inscriptions found are without exception funereal. They are brief, containing only the name of the deceased, and of his friends. The writing is disposed in vertical lines, and is read from bottom to top, and commences capriciously from the right to left or left to right. This leaves a great door open to error. The result of the decipherment is only a list of Libyan names, but there are names which occur in Classical authors, and the facts prove that the occupation of the soil by this race has been continuous for so many centuries, and that no great change has occurred in their culture. The wealth of Latin and Punic inscriptions, which are found in these regions, has materially assisted the decipherment of the previously unknown character, for the same names occur indiscriminately in all. The character of the ancient Libyans is the progenitor of the system of writing now in use, and known as the Tamasek.

Egypt comes next; the walls of whose palaces, the stones of whose obelisks and statues, the exteriors and interiors of whose coffins, present one continuous, unbroken series of inscriptions from a period of no less than four thousand years before the Christian era, to the time of the later Roman emperors. Numberless papyrus rolls have indeed been given up by the rifled tombs, but the history of Egypt has been painfully worked out from the hieroglyphic inscriptions on her monuments. The subject is too magnificent to be compressed into a discussion of the monumental inscriptions of the whole of the ancient world; we will therefore notice only a few, as bearing upon historical points of interest. It is wonderful to reflect that, for more than two thousand years, there is no perceptible variation in the graphic system of the Egyptians, and, if we make no further allusion to the nature of this system, it is because in a previous volume of this Review the wide subject of Egyptology has been discussed. The oldest known inscription dates back to a period anterior to the

fourth dynasty, and the characters used had even then assumed a cursive style. The names of kings are always enclosed in an oval, and a study of these ovals has led to the formation of a long roll of sovereigns of Upper and Lower Egypt, either separate or united.

The Egyptians had imperfect ideas of general chronology, and no trace has been found of any system of dates analogous to the Olympiads of the Greeks, or date of foundation of the city of the Romans. The regnal date of the actual monarch is given, and the difficulty is to find the sequence of the monarchs. Inscriptions upon the tombs of courtiers have assisted these inquiries, as for instance the epitaph of an old lady mentions the sovereign to whose service she had devoted her life. No less than three regal tablets have been found at Abydos, Karnak, and Memphis, in which the names of fifty to sixty deceased monarchs are ranged in rows, presumably their chronological order. One monumental inscription, and one only, bears anything approaching a date, and is called the "Tablet of Four Hundred Years," from the circumstance, that an officer of state in the reign of Rameses the Second of the nineteenth dynasty alludes in his votive dedication to an interval of that amount having elapsed betwixt the period of the dedication and the rule of the Hyksos. Unluckily he has omitted to note the regnal year of the long reign of Rameses.

The Rosetta Stone is of interest, because the hieroglyphic and hieratic versions, being accompanied by a Greek version, led to the original discovery of the great secret of the character. A stone was found subsequently at San with a Greek version, and has entirely confirmed the results previously arrived at. Both these stones show us how the servile Egyptians had prostituted their sacred writings to the glorification of the Greek Ptolemies; but this is neither the first nor the last occasion of their doing so, for the name of Darius Hystaspes, King of Persia, is found in an inscription dug up at the Suez Canal, and on the walls of the temple of Ammon in the Oasis of the Desert. A tablet of black granite has also been found, dated in the seventh year of Alexander, son of Alexander the Great, who was put to death at the age of twelve by Cassander, and whose name is not much known in history. In the time of the Romans the names of the emperors constantly appear.

Some historical facts are disclosed by inscriptions which surprise those who accept without reflection the conventional interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures. When Moses fled into the deserts of the Sinaitic Peninsula, and when the Israelites left Egypt, they are deemed to have got beyond the power of the

Pharaohs. What, then, is to be thought of the undying memorials which these sovereigns left in the Wádi Igne or Magharul, on the hard rocks and caves, in the shape of hieroglyphic tablets which, though twenty-nine or thirty centuries old, are reported by the late surveyor of the Peninsula to be in the most perfect state of preservation, and among the most remarkable relics in the world? They are twenty-four in number, thirteen in shallow relief, and the remainder in intaglio, and contain the effigies and names in the oval of the monarchs in whose reigns the mines of copper and turquoise were worked. The first monarch was the predecessor of Cheops, who built the great Pyramid, long before Abraham went down into Egypt: the last was of the eighteenth dynasty, a period subsequent to the Exodus.

An inscription at Thebes, of the time of Rameses the Third, of the nineteenth dynasty, describes the conquests in Asia of that sovereign, and among the captives are found the names of the Pelasgi, Etruscans, Chalybes, Greeks, and Carchemish. At a still earlier date, in the time of Menephthah, the son of Rameses the Second, in whose time the Exodus took place, we find mention of an invasion of Egypt by the Libyans, Sicilians, Etruscans, Sardinians, and Lycians. In future histories the purport of these inscriptions, if rightly interpreted, will have to be borne in mind.

We pass into Asia, which has preserved monumental inscriptions in scripts belonging to three distinct families: I, the Phœnician; II, the Mesopotamian; III, the Chinese. It is asserted, and with some show of authority, or rather of argument, that there existed additional seedplots of alphabetic systems, but our present subject deals with the historical side only, and it will be more convenient, provisionally, to divide Asia into the above-mentioned categories.

The Phœnician is the great mother alphabet of the modern world. We may say almost with certainty that every alphabetical system now in use in any part of the world may be traced back directly, or indirectly, to those Phonetic symbols, which the Phœnicians, at some remote period, borrowed from the Hieratic characters of the papyri of the old Egyptian kingdom. Individual sounds were for the first time, as it were, photographed, and Phonetic apparatus, however imperfect, wrought out from which the reader or listener could catch the sound of the word written or spoken without reference to its meaning. The Moabite Stone is the oldest specimen of this alphabet, and is one of the most wonderful discoveries of the age. In the year 1868 it was discovered in the land of Moab, and though it had escaped destruction for 2500 years, it suffered serious injury within one year of its discovery. It is the oldest specimen of pure alphabetic

writing, though modern as a monumental inscription in comparison with the ideographic tablets of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It records the acts of Mesha, King of Moab, and his victory over Ahab, King of Israel, whose date is about 900 B.C.

The interest attached to this venerable monument is four-fold : I, historically we learn that Moab had recovered its strength, and become independent at the time of Ahab and Isaiah, when the latter wrote the Burden of Moab ; II, we find that other places existed to which the Israelites went for worship, besides those mentioned in Holy Writ ; III, linguistically the interest is great to find a phraseology identical with Hebrew, and the actual language spoken at the time ; IV, palæographically we find an abundance of interesting features ; the existence, for instance, of twenty-two letters, and as this alphabet cannot be put at a later date than 1000 B. C., and it is scarcely probable that the Greeks borrowed the letters at an earlier date than this, the legend of the original sixteen letters can scarcely be maintained. Finally, we must remark the pious God-devoted spirit of the inscription : it reads like an extract from the Bible, with the substitution of Chemosh for Jehovah. Moreover, Mesha takes credit for killing the males of his enemies only and sparing the females, while the Israelites spared neither sex, with a view of keeping their race pure.

Equally interesting are the bilingual inscriptions of Assyrian Cuneiform and Phœnician found by Layard in the excavations of Nineveh : these have been very carefully examined and bring out curious historical facts. So also Phœnician inscriptions are found at Abydos in Egypt, in the Island of Cyprus, and at Marseilles.

One of the glories of the gallery of the Louvre is the sarcophagus of Ezmunazar, King of Sidon, which is certainly of Egyptian style, and may be dated back to the fourth century before the Christian era. There are traces of hieroglyphics upon it, which have been erased ; so possibly, like the sarcophagi which hold the bodies of several of the Popes at Rome, it may have served as the receptacle of still older dead bones than this king who died 2,200 years ago, and whose name has been lost sight of ever since, notwithstanding the precautions taken to record his sentiments, which were peculiar. "I am carried away ; the time of my non-existence has come : my spirit has disappeared like the day, from which I am silent, and I am lying in this coffin, and in this tomb, in the place which I have built. O then remember this ! May no royal race, and no man open my funeral couch ; and may they not seek after treasures, for no one has hidden treasures here, nor move

"the coffin out of my funeral couch, nor molest me in the funeral bed by putting another tomb in it." He then enunciates all the penalties which befall those who violate tombs, imaginary penalties for violating imaginary sanctity, and then, poor man, he tells with complacency how great his kingdom of the two Sidons was, and how he had built temples to his god Ashtarothe, by the sea-shore and on the mountain. He finishes with an historical fact, that the fertile plains of Saron, Dora and Toppa, were then annexed to Sidon, and he asks his god to perpetuate this arrangement, little thinking that the Grecian power of Macedon had already come into existence which would so soon absorb the whole country. His plaintive cry was to his contemporaries, or his immediate successors, those dangerous people of the third generation, who knew all about him, and cared little for him.

Of Carthaginian inscriptions we have an abundance: if any Sadducee of modern times had doubted the genuineness of the legend of the Phœnician colony in North Africa, the stones would have cried out to convict him of his error. Carthaginian civilization was so entirely annihilated by the Romans that its literature and records vanished for ever. The more grateful ought we to be to those enthusiasts who have visited the ruins of old Carthage and brought away so many inscriptions, which are generally votive, and reveal to us the names of forgotten deities.

In the deserts of Houran, east of Damascus, the pencil of travellers, French, English and German, has taken copies of thousands of inscriptions in a previously unknown character, and unknown language, the traces of a people and civilization entirely forgotten. The exact spot is a volcanic district called Safa, totally uninhabited at present. Various have been the theories, and widely different the ingenious versions made. A connexion had been imagined with the Himyarites of Southern Arabia, but now a theory is started by M. Halevy, that these scratchings and pictures were the work of an Arab tribe, mercenaries in the Roman army, and represent only names with brief terms of salutation. The language is believed to be intermediate betwixt Hebrew and Arabic, and to date back to the third century of our era: but the matter is still very far from certain.

Akin to these in character, but of far greater notoriety are the far-famed Sinaitic inscriptions, which have been the subject of so much discussion, and of theories of the wildest and most foolish kind, which have hardly yet entirely died out. In the Peninsula of Arabia Petrea and the "Valley of the Writing" it had been known, since the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes, that there existed sandstone rocks, spread over a great space and covered with thousands of inscriptions. Countless travellers have visited them

and some have brought away faithful copies of upwards of three thousand. The first impulse of the uninstructed mind was to attribute them to the Israelites at the time of their wanderings, to whose language an importance used to be given, which was not warranted. One enthusiast went so far as to hope to extract the song of Miriam from these rock sculptures, and to illustrate the poetic phraseology of "Jeshurun waxing fat and kicking," by the supposed juxtaposition of this phrase to the rude picture of a quadruped, of which there are many on the rocks. Such writers as indulged in dreams of a provincial language, the words of which were to be found at random in an Arabic dictionary, scarcely reflected sufficiently that palæography, Oriental and Occidental, has its laws, which can be traced with absolute certainty, and a soberer view of these interesting inscriptions succeeded, which has now settled down into a fact accepted by all persons whose opinions on such matters are worth consulting. Professor Beer is the chief authority, followed by Professor Palmer. These characters cannot be of an earlier date than the second to the fifth century of the Christian era; the language is Aramæan: they consist chiefly of proper names, and formal expressions such as "John Brown passed this way;" "William Smith may he be remembered for good." Some twelve are bilingual, the Greek and Aramæan being evidently written by the same hand. We trust in charity that the supporters of the Israelitish theory were not aware of this particular. Whether the writers were Jews, Christians, or Pagans, is uncertain; they probably belonged to all, but they certainly were not Mahomedans. For what object they came there is equally uncertain, whether for a pilgrimage, or the more practical purpose of pasturing cattle, or in connection with the neighbouring mines of Megharah already alluded to as bearing Egyptian inscriptions. No historic facts can be extracted from these scratchings, but it is with a feeling akin to reverence that we must regard these silent witnesses of the existence of a forgotten people, who desired to be remembered after they had passed by. We may add that in the valley of Petra similar inscriptions are found, and on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea.

We have mentioned the Israelites in the preceding notice; but how comes it, that they, almost alone among the nations of their time, have left no memorial behind them? The book of Job gives evidence that they knew what gravings upon the rock meant, and the Decalogue was carved upon tables of stone; how precious would be the discovery of these stone tables, or of any thanksgiving dedication of David, or proud boast of Solomon! Tyre and Sidon upon one side, Moab on the other, have left their memorial;

the Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions upon the River Lycus in Syria, which we shall notice further on, date back to that period of time. However, such is the fact. The Palestine exploration has been completed, and not one fragment of an inscription has been discovered.

The Hebrew language has been destined, however, to be the subject of a controversy of no ordinary interest with reference to the Karaite tomb stones of the Crimea. An ancient settlement of the Jews is stated to have been made at a date anterior to the Christian era, and inscriptions upon tomb-stones have been produced, which by some are assigned to a date within one century of the Christian era, and by others are relegated to a comparatively modern epoch. If the former theory were established, the interest, both historical and palæographical, attached to the simple record of names, would be very great, and as, up to the time of writing, the supporter of this theory, Professor Chwolson of St. Petersburg, after a personal inspection of the ancient graveyards, is persistent in his opinion, we must leave the question to time for a certain solution.

The existence of another nationality, religion, language and written-character is revealed to us by modern explorers in the Himyarite or Sabæan inscriptions of South Arabia. The whole must have ceased to exist before the birth of Mahomet, yet the alphabet is beautiful and complete, and the inscriptions are among the most beautiful of antiquity. They have survived on stone and metal, and the characters have a grand monumental appearance, speaking of a high civilization, and settled apparently from remote antiquity, as they appear unchanged in form from Aden to the River Euphrates. An enterprising French scholar, of Hebrew origin, M. Halevy, travelled through the wild region where these monuments are in abundance, at the peril of his life, and to him we are indebted for the description of their nature. Much also has been done by English scholars since the occupation of Aden. Many scholars have written upon them. The inscriptions are in horizontal lines, generally from right to left, occasionally backward and forward like the early Greek inscriptions. The words are usually separated, by a stroke; the language is an ancient form of Arabic, which prevailed from one hundred years before Christ to five hundred years afterwards, and which was ultimately superseded by the dialect of the Hijaj or modern Arabic. Some inscriptions are votive, of the ordinary type. Some are the adorations of strangers, supplying a great deal of geographical information. Some are architectural, on the walls of temples, to commemorate the name of the builder, and these are the most numerous. Some are historical, to record some battle, or important event. Some

are orders of the police, inscribed on pillars in front of the temple. The funereal inscriptions, so common elsewhere, are few in number, suggesting the idea that the Sabceans must have conveyed their dead to some solitary valley not yet discovered.

Of the Nabathean nationality we have a still less satisfactory testimony in the shape of monumental inscriptions, but with the great nation of the Arabs, we pass into a region of splendour, culture and historical clearness. The inscriptions in this language over the whole region where the Mahomedan religion spread, are like the Greek and Latin, too numerous to record. Verses of the Koran, laudatory expressions with regard to the founder, are part of the architectural decoration of every mosque, which often have every merit of material, design and execution, except that of being intelligible. The strokes of the Kufic character lent themselves to purposes of decoration. In this language we meet first with that elegant device for recording the date, or chronogram, as a particular numerical value belongs to certain letters, and the inscription is so arranged that the words of the last line contain the date. Such devices are not unknown in Latin inscriptions. Thus, on the citadel of Ahmedabad, in Gujerat, in Western India, over the archway is inscribed in Arabic the motto.—“Whosoever enters is safe,” which gives up the date of 892 Hijrah. At Jerusalem ; on the bridge over the river Lycus in Syria ; at Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad ; in every great Oriental town ; at the distant city of Gour in Bengal, at Agra, Delhi, Lahore, in Kabul, Kandahar, Bokhara, Samarcand ; at Ghuznee, over the grave of the great Iconoclast Mahmud, far to the west in the baths and mosques of Granada in Spain, we find the same stately inscriptions, the same pious quotations. In the last mentioned place they have a historical interest, as over the inner-door way of the Gate of Justice still remains the name of the founder, and the date, with the following : “May the Almighty make this a protecting bulwark, and write down its erection among the unperishable actions of the just !” In the Alhambra are words of another strain : “Look attentively at my elegance, thou wilt reap the benefit of a commentary on decoration ; and what is most to be wondered at is the felicity, which awaits in this delightful spot.”

In Turkey inscriptions on public buildings are generally taken from the Koran, but on fountains, and domestic architecture they are frequently in Turkish verse : they are found also on marble pillars set up to commemorate an exploit of archery.

Another group of remarkable inscriptions is presented in Asia Minor : they are, the Phrygian, Karian, Lycian, and Trojan. Much is not known of any of them, but they reveal to us the

existence of languages and culture with which time has dealt hardly. At Doganla in Phrygia are inscriptions upon royal tombs, to which a date is assigned by some palæographers of 920, B. C., which high antiquity is not admitted by others. Other inscriptions are found and all are clearly in an Indo-European language and the Greek character. Of the Karian so little is known, and the fragments are so scanty, that more cannot be written. Of the Lycian much more is known. Bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Lycian rendered the work of decipherment easy. One archaic tomb at Antiphellus with Lycian inscription had been subsequently appropriated by a Roman lady with a Latin inscription. Three lengthy inscriptions are given, and the character is Greek: the language is clearly Indo-European, but its nature only imperfectly known. Of Trojau inscriptions a few have been preserved by the labour of Dr. Schliemann, some of which are connected with Cypriote.

The discovery of the hieroglyphics of Hamath in Northern Syria has been one of the surprises of the last twenty years. At Hamath, and at Carchemish have been discovered stones with a system of ideographic writing, entirely distinct from those of Egypt and Babylonia, and up to this time all attempts to solve the mystery have failed. Stones, sculptured with characters of the above description, have been found as far north as Ibriz in Lycaonia. A few years ago rumours were afloat of a still more extensive discovery of sculptured remains at Carchemish by the late Mr. George Smith; but nothing further transpired. This, therefore, is one of the locks reserved for the next generation to pick. The existence of a distinct nationality, known as the Kheta, or Hittites, is attested in Egyptian, Assyrian and Hebrew chronicles. It is clear from these inscriptions, that there existed in Northern Syria a culture independent of its neighbours, which had arrived at considerable power and development. A careful consideration of the characters has led to the opinion that it constitutes a syllabary, and that the language is Non-Aryan and Non-Semitic.

We now approach the great cuneiform inscriptions, and notice that group which has, up to this time, defied all attempts at solution. These are situated at Van in Armenia, where the most extensive specimens are found graven upon a rock; but many others less in size are found in different portions of Russian and Turkish Armenia. A great many scholars have turned their attention in this direction, but all have failed. The language is presumed to be in ancient Armenian, and as an inscription of Xerxes in the well-known Persian cuneiform is found on the same rock, it is presumed that those in the local character

are of an older date. Of the one hundred and six characters discovered one-half are identical with those used in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, and are presumed, but with no positive certainty, to have the same phonetic values. Here, then, also, is a task awaiting the next generation of scholars.

Before proceeding to notice separately the several groups of the great cuneiform family of inscriptions, we must make a few remarks which apply to them all. Travellers had brought home from several localities specimens of arrow-headed writings, and, as far back as 1802, Grotefend had, by an effort of genius, detected the names of Darius and Xerxes. Thus for many years the state of affairs remained, till the combined labours of Burnouf, Lassen and Rawlinson, working apart, suddenly revealed the secret, and first the old Persian, then the Assyrian and Babylonian, then the Median or Scythian, and lastly the Proto-Babylonian, called also the Akkadian or Sumerian, and the Susian varieties were made known to a wondering world, making up, with the Armenian variety already described, no less than seven systems of characters used either as ideographs, syllabary, or a pure alphabet, and conveying Aryan, Semitic, and agglutinative languages. The extraordinary wealth and importance of the monumental inscriptions exceeded all conception. The useful series of volumes. *The Records of the Past*, has striven to popularise the information, and put into order the rough material for future historians. We proceed now to notice each class separately.

The magnificence of the great Behistun inscriptions will be described when we come to the old Persian. We confine our remarks at present to the second of the three tablets, known as the Median or Scythian, recorded in a character peculiar to itself, and in a language agglutinative in its method, and of which no other specimen exists. It has been translated by Mr. Norris and Dr. Oppert, and its contents are very much the same as those of the first tablet.

Akin to the Median in linguistic features are the inscriptions known as the Susian, so-called from the celebrated city of Susa, where they have been found, the records of a dynasty which preceded the Assyrians, and only became entirely extinguished under the rule of the Persians. The greater part are in Archaic characters of the cuneiform type, and with a certain affinity to the Median. They are easily deciphered, but, in the absence of ideograms, which give a clue to the meaning, unilingual inscriptions in an extinct and unknown language are unintelligible even to the most accomplished guesser. The most remarkable are those of Susa and Mal-Amir, which, geographically speaking,

are not very far from the rock of Behistun. Two accomplished language diviners, Mr. Sayce and Dr. Oppert, have made separate attempts to solve the mystery by the help of analogies of the kindred Median language of the second Achaemenian tablet, which fortunately is flanked by versions in old Persian and Assyrian. But up to this time the prayers or the boasts of the ancient monarchs who erected them, are matters of doubt, and among the open questions left to the scholars of the future. A date 700 B.C. is assigned to them.

We approach the group of ancient inscriptions found in South Babylonia, known as Akkadian, Sumerian, and Proto-Babylonian, vieing with the monuments of Egypt in antiquity, going back to the days of Nimrod, the great hunter, expressed in the earliest and simplest form of the great cuneiform character, and therefore the parent of that ideographic family, and conveying to us sentences and words in the most ancient of the agglutinative languages, which is asserted to hold the same rank among the more modern languages of that morphological order which Sanskrit occupies in the Aryan family. What has survived of this language has survived in the form of inscriptions; but fortunately the later Assyrians, when they appropriated the characters for the use of their own Semitic language, devised for their own use a series of bilingual tables, which have been found in the libraries of Nineveh, and which render the interpretation of these ancient monuments possible. Thus we have heard a great deal of long dynasties of kings, who have come forth from the dead into new historical life, of ancient cities, which have long since been covered by shapeless mounds, and, more than this, we have legends of the creation, and the deluge, and wonderful Mythological stories, names of new divinities, and a new system of chronology, and a literature replete with magic and sorcery. Fresh discoveries seem to crowd upon us daily, and the most daring spirit, with the greatest power of sympathetic assimilation, pauses to take breath for a while at each new revelation propounded by juvenile interpreters, with very little facility of control by competent critics. Add to this that what the scholar of one country loudly asserts, is instantaneously controverted by scholars of equal authority in another; and one great scholar, M. Halevy, denies the very existence of the language of which Dr. Oppert, M. Lenormant, Mr. Sayce and others, differing in details of interpretation, pretend the existence. If one tithe only of what is brought to our ears and eyes be accepted as fact, we shall have, in the monumental inscriptions of Southern Babylonia, a wonderful resuscitation of history, as the language is stated to have become extinct in the seventeenth

century before the Christian era, that is to say, before the Israelites went down into Egypt.

"Paulo majora canamus." We now pass into the meridian splendour of the magnificent series of the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions, which we might have called the grandest in the world, did we not remember Egypt, already described, and did we not look forward to the monuments of Darius, King of Persia, and Asoka, King of Upper India, which will further on pass under review. The Assyrio-Babylonian nations and dynasties adopted the type of cuneiform writing from their predecessors the Akkadians, and adapted it to a Semitic language, and, without advancing entirely beyond the use of ideographs, developed a syllabary of astounding proportions. The language was soon found to be akin to Hebrew, and the third tablet of the great Behistun inscription being in that language and character, the first attempt at decyphering and translating was greatly facilitated. The discovery of the palaces of Nineveh by French and English explorers filled the museums of London and Paris with inscriptions in unlimited numbers, and a vast literature was disinterred from buried libraries in the form of cylinders. The scholars of Europe set to work in earnest, and the volumes of the "Records of the Past," and of "History from the Monuments," testify to the value of what has been done. It would be a delightful task to write freely upon the subject of Assyriology, but at present we must glance hastily at a few remarkable specimens.

Some are bilinguals, with Persian, with Akkadian, and Phœnician: they are accompanied by figures and basso-relievos, or are on plain tablets: they are inscribed on stone, metal vessels, or burnt clay: the majority are found within a certain radius from the town of Mosul, but abundant specimens have been supplied from Southern Babylonia and elsewhere. We have ourselves gazed with awe and admiration on the sculptures on the rocks at the point where the River Lycus, the smooth Adonis of Milton, flows into the Mediterranean Sea. Arabic lines record the work of Sultán Selim, A. D. 1517. Latin lines record the fact, that the Emperor Aurelius widened the road, A.D. 170-180: another road, higher up the rock, had been the track of earlier conquerors, and there are nine tablets carved on the rock, as large as life; three of them are Egyptian, and six are Assyrian, and it is the privilege of scholars of the present generation to be the first to decypher both. Time and exposure to the weather has dealt roughly with the figures and the legends carved beneath them, but the plurality of tablets shews that a succession of monarchs left their signet on the rock, and

the lately-revealed annals of Assyria and Egypt tell us how repeatedly Syria was overrun by their invading armies. In the Assyrian the name of Senacherib, whose date is B.C. 700 is recognized, and in the Egyptian the unmistakeable oval of Rameses the Second, the Sesostris of the ancients, and we have the additional interest of knowing that Herodotus himself looked upon these inscriptions, for in his second book he mentions having done so.

The monumental inscriptions that were buried beneath the vast mounds of Koyunjik, Khorsabad, and Nimrud, have been more tenderly preserved, and are fresh and perfect as on the day when they decorated the palaces of Assyria. It is a strange and pleasurable surprise to hear more details of the lives of Shalmanezar, Esarhaddon, Senacherib, and Tiglath-Pilesar, who appear as dim visions in the Old Testament. In Ashur-bani-Pal we recognize the fanciful Sardanapalus of the classic writers. In the inscriptions of Nineveh the names of Ninus and Semiramis are not identified, but Nebuchadnezzar is represented at Birs-Nimrud.

The "Standard Inscription" is so called because it appears repeated more than one hundred times in the excavation of Ashur-akh-Pal's palace, a monarch of the ninth century before Christ; whose figure appears in sculpture, about to offer a libation to the gods, accompanied by an inscription of twenty-one lines. If pride and exaltation of spirit at their power and conquests, are the features of such profane memorials, still there is a deep under-current of piety and devotion to their gods, who give all, and protect them and their nation. Let us quote words written and buried away long before the fire of Greek thought had been ignited, or its philosophy developed; a prayer to God by Ashur-bani-Pal: "May the work of piety that shines in thy eternal face, dispel my grief! May I never feel the anger and wrath of God! May my omissions and sins be wiped out! May I find reconciliation with Him, for I am the servant of His power, the adorer of the great Gods! May thy powerful face come to help me! May it shine like heaven, and bless me with happiness and abundance of richness." After perusing the above it occurs to us that David and Hezekiah had not, in those far away centuries, the monopoly of addressing God, as He ought to be addressed.

The black obelisk of Shalmanezur represents the king receiving tribute of five nations, and the ambassadors of Jehu, King of Israel, are recorded among them, a fact omitted in the chronicles of the kings of Israel. In the annals of Tiglath-Pilesar we find the following gleaming lines: "The records

"of my warriors, the battle-shout of my fighting, the
 "submission of my enemies hostile to Ashur, whom Anu
 "and Rimmon to destruction have given, on my tablet and found-
 "ation-stone I wrote; in the temple of Anu and Rimmon, the
 "gods great, my lords for future, days I established; and the
 "tablets of Samas-Rimmon, my father duly I cleaned; victims I
 "sacrificed; to their places I restored them for future days, for a
 "day long hereafter, for whatever prince hereafter reigns. When
 "the temple of Anu and Rimmon, the gods great, my lords,
 "and the towers grow old and decay, their ruins may he renew,
 "my tablets and my foundation-stones duly may he cleanse,
 "victims may he slay, and his name with mine may he write.
 "Like myself may Anu and Rimmon, in soundness of heart,
 "and conquest in battle bountifully keep him. He who my in-
 "scriptions and foundation-stones shall conceal, to the water shall
 "lay, with fire shall burn, in dust shall cover, in a house not seen
 "for interpretation shall set, the name written shall erase, and his
 "own name shall write; may Anu and Ashur, the gods great,
 "my lords, strongly injure him, and with a curse grievous may
 "they curse him; his kingdom may they dissipate, the armies of
 "his lordship may they devour, his weapons may they break, the
 "destruction of his army may they cause: may the air god with
 "pestilence his land cut off; want of crop, famine, corpses, against
 "his land may he lay, his seed in the land may he destroy."

The texts thus revealed to us have done much to establish a firm system of chronology for the reigns of the Assyrian monarchs. The most important document is the Eponym Canon, which, with the numerous dated historical and contract tablets, forms one of the most important series of chronological documents ever yet discovered. They enable us to regulate the chronology of a period extending from the death of Solomon, 913 B.C., to the death of Esarhaddon and the accession of Assur-bani-Pal 668 B.C. Nor is this all. During the heavy rains of 1875 the upper surface of the mounds of a tower, named Hillah, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, were washed away, and a number of earthen jars were exposed to view, containing several thousand small tablets, which proved to be the accounts of a bankers' firm named Egibi and Sons, who for several generations conducted a large commercial business, and dated each contract with the year of the reign of the reigning sovereign. By ingenious calculations, based upon this series of private instruments, the chronology can be settled down to the time of Darius Hystaspes, King of Persia, at whose epoch Herodotus came to the aid of the chronologers.

The bilingual inscriptions found at Nineveh have already been alluded to. On many of the Assyrian tablets there are entries, on

the margin, of a Phœnician character, leaving it an open question whether there was not a cursive form of alphabetic writing concurrent with the grand cuneiform syllabaries. The magnificent series of bronze basso-relievos sent home within the last year by Mr. Rassam, illustrate in a remarkable degree the inscriptions, and we feel, that with all that has already been disinterred, there may be much more still hidden away to reward the labours of the next generation.

The light of history dawns clearer upon us as we approach the great group of the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions. What school-boy has not heard of Cyrus, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes? And yet the idea of them comes out clearer, when we read with our eyes the letters which were carved in their lifetime and by their orders, and look upon the figures intended to represent them. The oldest of the series, the venerable tomb of the great Cyrus, well-known in its form, and existing to this day at Murghab in Persia with the legend "I am Cyrus, the King, the Achœmenian." Arrian tells us how it was visited by Alexander the great, and yet the ruthlessness of modern criticism robs us of this comfort, and urges that Murghab cannot be Pasargadæ, and that this is only the tomb of the wife of Cyrus, and mother of Cambyses. This is the oldest specimen of the cuneiform writing adapted to an Aryan language, and reduced to a pure alphabetic stage.

Next in chronological order is the magnificent triumphal monument of Darius son of Hystaspes, at Behistun near Kirmanshah in Persia. We have already alluded in their proper places to the third tablet in the Assyrian, and the second in the Median languages, but we have reserved the full description of this greatest of imperial records till the proper place came to describe the Persian tablet. On the high road from Babylon to the Eastward, rises an isolated perpendicular mountain on the Western frontier of Media, known now as Behistun, called by the natives Bi-sutun. The inscription stands three hundred feet above the base, and could only have been approached by scaffolding. The document enjoins publicity to its contents, but this was physically impossible, no trace of steps can be found, and this isolation saved the figures in the time of the Mahomedan Iconoclasts. A shout of triumph may be said to have sounded in every capital of Europe, when the contents of this grand stone document were revealed to us by Rawlinson. The surface of the rock must have been prepared and all inequalities filled up; a coat of varnish was spread over the letters, and the inscription in extent and beauty is unrivalled in the world, and yet Herodotus had never heard of it. He knew that Darius had put up bilingual inscriptions

on the Bosphorus, but he had never heard of this. The figure of the great king himself is sculptured on the rock, and before him a row of conquered rivals, over the head of each of whom is his name. The lapse of so many a century, and the conduct of Darius towards Greece, make us sympathise more with the conquered than the conqueror, as by some strange under-current of unexplained feeling we sympathise more with the Trojans than the Grecians in the great Homeric struggle. Here at least we have Darius, speaking for himself; no lying historian, no careless scribe, has come between us and the great king, and no doubt the words were settled in the council of the great king, in the form that altereth not:—

“I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the Persians, the king of the lords, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian.

“And Darius, the king, says: On that account we call ourselves Achæmenian of race: from ancient times we have been mighty, from ancient times we have been kings.

“And Darius the king says: Eight kings of my race have before me held the kingdom. I am the ninth, who hold the kingdom: Twice we have been kings.

“And Darius the King, says: By the grace of Ormazd I hold the kingdom: Ormazd granted me the kingdom. And Darius the king says: These are the countries which called themselves mine: by the grace of Ormazd I hold their kingdoms.”

“Ormazd gave me these kingdoms and Ormazd was my helper until I gained the kingdom; and by the grace of Ormazd I possessed this kingdom.”

And so on through the many hundred lines; he believed, no doubt, that the creation of his intellect, Ormazd, had done for him, what Ashur had done for the Assyrians, Bel for the Babylonians, Chemosh for the Moabites, Amen-Ra for the Egyptians, and other gods for other nations, and these inscriptions bear witness to the innate superstition and piety of the human race, who in the hour of their greatest triumph rendered homage to the unseen divinity, the common father of all, whom they knew not, and yet worshipped, whom they feared rather than loved.

This same Darius has left us inscriptions on his palace walls at Persepolis, still in the three languages of his empire, and over his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam. Thus runs the fragment of his testament: “A great god is Ormazd who has created the good principle, which by the right and custom has ruled over Darius the king.”

“Darius the king says: By the grace of Ormazd the work”—the remainder is wanting. On Mount Elvend, and at Susa we have

short inscriptions, in Persian, of the great king, but the excavation for the Suez Canal has revealed to us one of priceless value in Persian, Median, Assyrian and Egyptian. A further concession is made to Egyptian tastes by the insertion of the name of Darius in a conventional oval. The inscription is fragmentary, but the meaning is gathered, that Darius received the kingdom of Egypt, that he ordered the canal to be constructed from the Nile to the sea (and this is confirmed by a notice in Herodotus), and that he ordered it subsequently to be destroyed for fear of the injury to Egypt from the supposed inequality of the level of the two seas.

Xerxes, the husband of Queen Esther, who wrote the letters to the one hundred and twenty provinces of his empire, and to each in their own language and writing, has left inscriptions in the three languages :

“A great god is Ormazd, who has created the earth and heaven and man, and gives to man the good principle.

“I am Xerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, where many languages are spoken, the king of the wide earth, afar and near, the son of king Darius the Achæmenian.”

Such memorials are found upon Mount Elvend ; at Van in Armenia ; upon the palace at Persepolis ; upon vases in Egypt, Susa, and Halicarnassus. Of succeeding sovereigns unimportant fragments are found, and close this magnificent series ; interesting in every point of view, historical, mythological, linguistic, and palæographical.

Centuries passed over the kingdom of Persia ; the Greek, the Roman, and the Parthian Arsacides had their day, and, after a lapse of eight centuries from the time of the Achæmenides, a native dynasty, the Sassanian, came into power, and emulated the old dynasty in their devotion to their country's faith, and their taste for monumental inscriptions. But the language and the character had wholly changed : these inscriptions are not of any particular historical importance, but most interesting to the linguist and palæographer. Some, fortunately, are trilingual, in Greek, and two forms of Pahlavi, which may be described as middle Persian, occupying an intermediate linguistic position betwixt the old Persian of the Behistun tablets and the Avesta and the modern Persian of the present time. The two forms are the Sassanian Pahlavi, leaning to the Aryan, and the Chaldean Pahlavi, to Semitic tendencies, and each with a separate form of alphabetic writing, both derived from the common Phœnician stock. By the help of the Greek version the trilingual inscriptions have been translated, but those which are found in the two dialects of Pahlavi, or only in one of them, in spite of the labours of

Dr. Haug, Mr. E. Thomas and Mr. West are wholly untranslatable, as well from our imperfect knowledge of the language, as from the injury done by time and weather to the tablets.

At Nuksh-i-Rustam, the place of sepulture of Darius, son of Hystaspes, we find a tablet, with a representation of Ormazd, aroused after a slumber of seven hundred years, bestowing an Imperial cydaris on Ardeshir Babékan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty: the legend describes him as "king of kings, "king of Iran, and worshipper of Ormazd." At Nukshi Rajab, near Persepolis, at Pai Kuli, between Kermanshah and Baghdad, are inscriptions of Ardeshir, and his son Sapor, heading a procession on horse-back, with a legend, that it is the image of "Ormazd-worshipper, divine Shahpur, king of kings, &c." Another monumental inscription, one of many in different parts of Persia, represents the triumph over Valentinian, the Emperor of the Romans, 260 A.D. The inscription has not been translated; but the facts are supplied in the history of the Roman Empire. There are others at other places, and a good harvest is left open to future gleaners. It is interesting to find short Pahlavi inscriptions in the caves in the Island of Salsette near Bombay, with dates of the tenth century of our era. Pahlavi signatures are also found to the metal tablets in the possession of the Syrian Church of Southern India, to be noticed further on: we read also of Pahlavi papyri being found in the Fyum of Egypt.

The inscriptions on public buildings in the sweet and concise language of modern Persia, and the adapted Arabic alphabet, are very numerous in Persia, Afghanistan and India, and wherever that most elegant and facile language has been adopted as a vernacular, or a court-vehicle of communication. In such inscriptions we find clever chronograms, marking the date of mosque, or bridge, or hospital, or *serai*, or tomb. The flow of the Arabic alphabet is well suited for the embellishment of wall and ceiling. At Delhi we have the famous legend: "If there is Elysium on earth, it is this, it is this." At Shikarpur, in Sindh, the word for frog in Persian is written upon the great mosque to record the marshes in the neighbourhood, and recall the date of the erection. Sometimes a pious sentiment is pressed into the service: at Ahmedabad in Guzerat the date is conveyed by the sentiment, "He built it from pure motives for the sake of God." More touching is the tomb-stone at Agra, "O, the grief of Gunna Begum," which conveys the date of the lady's death, but nothing more; not even the name of father, husband, or son. We read of the tomb of Timour at Samarcand with his name, title, and day of death, and, in an adjoining room, the ominous legend: "If I were alive, people would not

be glad." In one of the defiles in the valley of Zurufshan in Russian Ferghana are the gates of Tamerlane with two Persian rock inscriptions, deeply cut, recording, for the benefit of passers by, forgotten campaigns and battles. The dates are here expressed in numerals. Another elegant chronogram is recorded : "A Cypress has gone from this garden," a date may be extracted, but brevity appears to induce obscurity, where there is no device to record the name of the dear departed. We were ourselves more fortunate, for many years ago in one of the districts of Northern India, which lives in our thoughts, though never likely to be seen again by our eyes, we erected a public building, and a courtly official inserted over the door a stone with a neat posy, which conveyed a hope, that future generations would know the name and the date of the builder. Vain hope, for within two years came the Sepoy Mutinies, and the building, the stone, and the chronogram disappeared in the confusion, as well as the courtly official. We have already alluded to the inscription over the tomb of Mahomed at Ghuzni, but there is no doubt that we shall find many unknown treasures in Afghanistan, possibly Greek, certainly Buddhistic, and a wealth of Arabic and Persian. In the adjacent country of Beluchistan a Greek inscription upon a rock not far from Kilât is mentioned by Mr. Hughes, and ancient writings daubed on rocks in red and black colours in the Las district, but unintelligible. Thirty years hence more will be known about these.

We find ourselves insensibly in India, and proceed to deal with the grand subject of Indian inscriptions. It is indeed so grand and complicated, and carries with it such a variety of palæographical, linguistic, and historical difficulties, which the industry and intelligence of this generation has not entirely solved, that we must tread with cautious step, and pass lightly over topics of a prickly nature, and, bearing in mind that we have to deal with the historical aspect alone, give a brief account of some of the chief monumental inscriptions of India. The first thing that calls attention, is the comparatively late date of the very oldest of Indian existing inscriptions, and there is nothing to indicate the existence of older specimens, which have perished. There can be but one conclusion from this fact, that previous to that date there was no knowledge of the art of writing, for the rocks would have preserved inscriptions of many centuries older date than that of Asoka to whom an earlier period than two hundred and fifty years before the Christian era cannot be assigned. The next feature worthy of remark is that this series of Asoka inscriptions stands unrivalled by any subsequent effort of a monarch of India, Hindu, or Mahomedan,

and is of priceless value in a country of which there are no historical records.

Magnificent as was the monumental inscription of Darius the son of Hystaspes, which we have already described, we cannot but think that the series of inscriptions carved by order of King Asoka of the great Mauriya dynasty of Northern India upon rocks, pillars and the walls of caves, at places at enormous distances from each other, are still more remarkable, and historically are far more important, as they supply forgotten chapters of history, and verify the name of King Asoka, called on his inscriptions Priyadasi, who, in the third century before Christ, ordered these edicts to be published in this enduring manner, not to record triumphs or slaughters, or subject nations, but to preach peace, and mercy to the lives of man and beast, to inculcate maxims of morality and self-denial, to teach his subjects, that there was a more excellent way than the path of earthly glory, and above all to insist upon religious tolerance. Independently of the wonderful contents of these edicts their outward forms present treasures of palæographic and linguistic details, and let a new light in upon the relation of the successors of Alexander the Great to the sovereigns of India.

The whole have now been carefully transcribed, collated, and translated, by the united efforts of a succession of great scholars, and published in the first volume of the Indian Inscriptions by General Alexander Cunningham. In other words particular inscriptions have been photographed, and we know as much as we are likely to know about them. They are interesting as alluding to well-known Grecian kings by name, which fixes their date, and on the other hand they assist in fixing the important date of the birth of Buddha, which is a kind of pivot, round which the chronology of India swings.

This great series of monumental inscriptions consists of inscriptions carved on the native rock, in caves, which are generally artificial, and on pillars of a uniform height, and architectural design. There are thirteen rock inscriptions, though only five are of first rate importance; and seventeen cave inscriptions, but chiefly mere fragments. Of the ten existing pillars, six only have inscriptions upon them, and of these five only are of importance. This leaves a series of ten monumental inscriptions of the highest interest, five upon the rocks and five upon pillars: the fragments are of palæographical value, and assist the decypherer in determining the value of the letters, which have stood the blasts, the heat and the rains of twenty-one centuries, and survived the neglect, the wantonness and the iconoclasm of sixty-three generations of men. Fortunate was the

lot of those tablets, which were protected by the incrustation of moss, or the sympathetic embraces of the impenetrable forest. Those suffered most which fell under the eyes of man, and into the hands of arrogant kings, who added their own names, or bigoted priests, who tried to destroy what they could not understand.

The field in which these monuments are strewed, is literally the whole of Northern India from the Indian Ocean to the Bay of Bengal, from the slopes of the Vindya Range to the neighbourhood of the Khyber Pass. One is in the Kathiawar district in Bombay, another in the Ganjam district in the Madras Province; others are in the Central Provinces, the North-West Provinces, Bengal and, the Punjab; they are found also in Rajpootana. In fact the field is conterminous with that of the Aryan people. Space will not allow us to give more than the names of the localities. The five rocks are as follows: I, Kapur da garhi, in the Yusufzai country of the Peshawur district. II, Khalsi, on the west bank of the River Jumna, where it leaves the Himalaya mountains. III, Girnar, in the Province of Kathiawar, forty miles North of Somnâth. IV, Dhauli on the opposite coast of India, in the district of Cuttack, twenty miles North of Juggernaut. V, Jaugada, eighteen miles North-West of Ganjam. The last ten are most beautifully engraved, and have additional edicts. The five pillars are I, II, two at Delhi, both having been brought thither by the Mahomedan rulers from other localities; III, Allahabad; IV, V, two at Lawriya, near Bettiah, in Bengal. They were all prepared by the orders of Asoka, or Priyadasi, grandson of Chandragupta, who is identified with Sandracottus, to whom Seleucus, successor of Alexander the Great, sent Megasthenes, as ambassador. In the inscriptions mention is made of Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedonia, and others. This justifies the date assigned to them. The language used is not the Sanskrit, but the Pali, the vernacular court language of the period, that intermediate linguistic stage, through which the great Aryan vernaculars of India have passed in the course of their development from the synthetic to the analytic stage. Three dialectal variations are noted; but it would not be safe to argue, that the language was intelligible to the common people at each and all of the places mentioned. No doubt it was the language of the court and the officials. The form of written character used is two-fold: the single rock inscription of Kapur-da-garhi is written in the Ariano-Pali, or Northern Asoka, character, while the Southern Asoka, or Indo-Pali, is used for all the others. We have no space to enter into the tremendous discussion which these facts give birth to. All parties admit the Phœnician parent-

age of the Northern Asoka. We agree with those who claim the same origin for the Southern Asoka, which is hotly contested by a party of great authority, who strove to establish the existence of a distinct and separate alphabetic seedplot in India, developed from a preceding ideographic germ, of the existence of which, however, there is not the faintest trace either in physical existence, or in an allusion made to it by any authors.

We will now state the purport of these edicts, so remarkably published over so vast an area. In one of the Delhi pillars the king records his wish that his religious edicts should endure unto remote ages, and this wish has been realized. We thus learn, that in the third century before the Christian era, a great king of India, either a Buddhist, or a Jain by religion, or possibly both, thought it part of his duty to publish in the vernacular the following edicts:—I, prohibition of slaughter of animals for food or sacrifice; II, provision of a system of medical aid for men and animals, and of plantations, and wells, on the roadside; III, order for a quinquennial humiliation, and republication of the great moral precepts of his creed; IV, comparison of the former and present state of things, to the advantage of the latter; V, appointment of missionaries to go into the countries which are indicated, for the purpose of converting the people and foreigners; VI, appointment of informers, and guardians of morality; VII, expression of a desire that there may be uniformity of religion and equality of rank; VIII, contrast of carnal enjoyments of previous rulers with the pious pleasures of the present king; IX, inculcation of the true happiness to be found in virtue, through which alone the blessings of heaven can be propitiated; X, contrast of the vain and the transitory glory of this world with the reward for which the king strove, and looked; XI, inculcation of the doctrine, that the imparting of Dharma, or virtue, is the greatest of charitable donations; XII, address to all unbelievers. It is a bitter satire to think that for the last two thousand years there should have been sermons on stones, and moral precepts carved on enduring rock, which no one could read or understand. Could such a code have prevailed, there would have been no room for the abominations of Sivaism, and Vaishnavism. Moreover the king prays with every variety of prayer for those "who differ from him in creed, that they, following his example, may with him attain eternal salvation" (Pillar Edict VI). In edict VII. he ordains tolerance, by desiring "that all unbelievers everywhere may dwell unmolested, as they also wish for moral restraints, and purity of disposition: for men (he concludes) are of various passions, and various desires."

The soul wakes up in a glad surprise to think that men of old could, out of their own hearts, have conceived such good things, and the same sensation overpowers us which we feel when we read the discourses of Socrates. If monumental inscriptions had done no more than record the edicts of King Asoka, they would have benefited mankind with an imperishable gift. The blast of the royal trumpets of Darius, the wail of King Ezmunazar over the vanity of life, the ostentatious devotion of long lines of Egyptian and Assyrian Kings to Amen Ra, and Ashur, their great gods, and lords; the proud patriotism of the Athenians over those who fell at Potidæa; the stately record of Augustus, of all that he had done for Rome; all these varied and affecting strains sound faintly through the corridors of time, compared with the still, small voice from the broken pillars, the moss-grown rocks, the forgotten cave, preaching mercy, toleration, and the highest conception of human excellence to mankind. How knightly seems that princely figure whose only recorded title was "beloved of the gods," whose greatest conquest, for an Oriental as well as an occidental monarch, was over himself, contrasted with those haughty Asiarchs, who only wished to be remembered by posterity as the slaughterers of their enemies, the destroyers of cities, and the depopulators of provinces, in fact the enemies of the human race!

We alluded above to the Ariano-Pali, as the character of the Asoka inscription in the Yusufzai country. The antiquity of this character is carried back one century on the coins of an Indian king, contemporary of Alexander the Great; it ceased to be used about one hundred years after the Christian era. Within that period we find other inscriptions in that form of writing; two only of any historical interest. Those found at Takht-i-Buli are connected with certain remains of sculpture, known as Græco-Buddhist, which indicate the presence in India of sculptors influenced by the Greek school. Another inscription is interesting, as bearing the name of Gondophanes, which apparently coincides with the name of the sovereign under whom, according to monkish legends, the Apostle St. Thomas suffered martyrdom. The ruins of Taxila; the tope of Manikyala; the hills of Kangra; the pillar at Hissar, and the mounds of Muttra, have supplied specimens of this ancient alphabet. It is worthy of note that not one solitary Greek inscription has been found in the whole of India, though that character remained as the leading vehicle of official record on coins, with a subsidiary vernacular translation, during more than two centuries under Greek and Scythian dynasties.

We have already mentioned the Asoka pillar called Feroz Shahi Lat at Dehli. The Chohan Raja, Visala Deva, whose power extended from Himadri to Vindya, has scored his name about 1163

A.D. with his titles, above and below that of his great predecessor; others have done the same, the latest being Ibrahim Lodī in 1507 A.D. It gives a reality to the existence of these people to be able to see and touch their autographs. On the celebrated iron pillar at the Kutub, in addition to the Gupta inscription, which we shall notice further on, there are numerous scratchings of visitors, some in Indian some in Persian characters. An inscription on the great mosque at the Kutub records the name of Kutub-ud-Deen; an Arabic inscription at the same place records, that the colonnades were made up by the demolition of twenty-seven idolatrous temples. On the great Kutub Minar itself are three bands of inscriptions, I, quotations from the Koran; II, ninety-nine names of God; III, praises of Muaz-ud-deen; IV, quotations from the Koran; V, praises of Sultan Mahommed; VI, the last band is too much injured to be read.

The monumental inscriptions of Muttra are a comparatively recent contribution to our store of knowledge. Certain mounds were excavated, and twenty-five inscriptions were brought to light as well as sculptured figures, which were clearly of Jain origin. In these inscriptions not only the year, but the season of the year is given; the date assigned is about 50 B.C. The written character is the same Ariano-Pali above described, and the language is a translation from Sanskrit into Pali. They are carved on the base of pillars, and their general purport is to record gifts, but fortunately the deviser has added the names of the reigning sovereign and the sambat, and thus they play the same part in fixing the chronology of India that we have witnessed in the case of contract tablets in Babylonia and tomb-stones in Egypt. They form in fact so many skeleton pages of the lost history of India. They belong to a period just before and after the Christian era, just when the Indo Scythians had conquered India; they mention the names of King Kanishka, Vasadeva, Huvishka, and they prove the existence of the Jain religion at that date. Further excavations may make additional revelations.

Gaya in Buhar is a place of great interest from every point of view, but lately an inscription has been found here, which is one of the most important ever discovered, if the right interpretation has been put upon its contents. It is stated to be the only record yet found, that is dated in the Buddhist era of Nirvana. It runs: "In the year of Bhagavata, Nirvan 1819, on Wednesday the first day of the waning moon, Kartik." If the interpretation is admitted, it will fix the date of the Nirvana, and contribute to the establishment of a firm chronology for India.

As we approach Southern India, we feel a desire to withdraw from a perilous task. So many able and learned men have written on the subject with such diversity of opinions; the

information is scattered in the pages of so many periodicals, or in chapters of greater works, or of general reports. We feel the want of a series of volumes such as the "Records of the Past," and "History from the Monuments," which has so lightened our task in dealing with the inscriptions of Egypt, Assyria, and Persia. We have a kind of presentiment, that whatever we write will offend against some preconceived opinion, and run counter to some received view of facts, for after all it is with facts alone that we have to deal.

We will notice first the monumental inscriptions of the Śāh kings of Surashira on the Western coast of India. The presumed founder is Nahapāna, and in three inscriptions, partly Sanskrit, and partly Pali, in the Nasik caves, we find his name mentioned under the title of Satrap : he is also mentioned in the caves of Karlen, and Junir in the Bombay Province. The next king of this dynasty who has left an inscription, is Raja Rudra Dama, who, on the very rock at Girnar on which Asoka had recorded his edict, centuries after recapitulates the consecutive repairs of the dam, or bridge, of the Palesani River. In this precious document we find mention of the name of the Mauriya Raja Chandragupta, or Sandracottas, and the still more venerable name of the celebrated Yavana Raja "Asoka Mauriya." This is of extreme importance, as in his own edicts he is only called "Priyadāsi, beloved of the gods," in the same manner as the great kings of Egypt are disguised under their numerous sacred appellations. The last inscription of this dynasty is that on the Jaskan pillar in the North of Kāthiawar of Raja Rudra Sena, who records his descent from the above Rudra Dama.

In the same Nasik caves are a succession of inscriptions, consisting, indeed, entirely of religious grants, but alluding to the names of a succession of sovereigns of the Satavāhana dynasty, who apparently ruled in the country. It is not clear, how one dynasty succeeded the other, and it is entirely impossible to arrive at certainty, when we have to depend upon such unreliable chronicles as the Purānas on one side, and on coins bearing dates with reference to uncertain eras ; the historian has to walk upon hidden volcanoes : we give no opinion at all.

The genealogy of the Gupta dynasty has been singularly well preserved in a succession of inscriptions ; the earliest is that of Samudra Gupta, who recorded his name on the famous Asoka pillar in the fort of Allahabad, to which we have already alluded, and in the modified form of the Indian alphabet current in his own day. We find the name of this dynasty in an inscription at Muttra, and on the Bhitāri pillar in the district of Ghazipur, and again at Bihār. It looks also, as if one member of this

audacious dynasty had cut six Sanskrit lines on the iron pillar at the Kutub at Delhi, for the nature of the character betrays the period. The inscription is not wholly decipherable; it tells us that "the pillar is called the arm of fame by Raja Dhava, and "the letters cut are called the typical cuts inflicted on his enemies "by his sword writing his universal fame." We find the Gupta name at Udāyagiri, the Sanchi tope, the monolith of Kuhaon in the Gorakhpore district, and on a copper-plate near Anophshuhr on the River Ganges, at Gwalior, Bhopal, and lastly on the rock of Girnar in Kathiāwar, which we have already noticed as bearing the edicts of Asoka, and the later modification of the Sah dynasty. Here Skanda Gupta records the measures taken in consequence of the bursting of the lake Sudarsana.

The inscriptions hitherto noticed have been generally of a public character: henceforward we must look almost entirely to private contemporary records, analogous to European charters of abbeys and municipalities. They are of various kinds, and were intended to serve as the title deeds of grants and endowments made by kings and chiefs to temples and religious communities. Some are on rocks, some on pillars and walls of temples, others on large single slabs of stone, set up in public places; others engraved on plates of copper, held together by rings, to which is attached the seal of the reigning dynasty. In these lie our hope of filling up the long gap of pre-Mahomedan history of India. The industry, and scientific zeal of private individuals has amassed a vast store of material in the shape of impressions of copper-plates, and transcriptions of stone tablets: by means of them the chronology of the Valabhi dynasty at Wala in the Kathiāwar Peninsula, of the great Chalukya dynasty of the Kanarese and Marátha countries, have been to a certain extent established, and light thrown upon other lines of sovereigns. We cannot say that as yet historical results have been arrived at, but the Government of India has at last taken up the subject in earnest, and has entrusted it to an accomplished scholar of the Western Presidency, Mr. Fleet, from whom we expect results as regards the Kanarese country which will equal those of the Assyrian and Egyptian field.

Vast tracts of country lie more to the South. We read of Pali inscriptions on the Amravati tope on the River Kistna; of Kanarese inscriptions in the kingdom of Mysore, and of Malayalin in the kingdom of Travancore; of a large series of copper-plates of the Vizayanagaram and other dynasties. Thousands of inscriptions were collected years ago in the Tamil country, and we have it on the authority of Bishop Caldwell, that inscriptions in South India, whatever be their character of writing, are generally in Sanskrit, though vernacular inscriptions on private

deeds do exist in great numbers. The oldest inscription of Southern India is far from being as old as the edicts of Asoka; and the paucity of old ones, found only at Amravati, indicates the historical fact that Buddhism had not advanced in that direction to any extent. There is not a South Indian inscription with a date earlier than the fourth century of the Christian era, before which period the civilization which came from the North, cannot have commenced its work in the South.

One accomplished scholar of the Madras Presidency, Mr. Burnell, has made the study of palæography one of his chief pursuits, and has thus cleared the way for the collector and interpreter of inscriptions. From him we learn what we have to expect in the way of variation of character and languages, and the nature of the documents, which have been preserved on stone and metal. The walls of temples, the pavement, and the pillars of colonnades, are chiefly used for recording grants and public documents. The following varieties of inscriptions are found: I, Royal grants, which were in certain recognized forms, contained the genealogy of the king, the description of the grant, the conditions, and the date, ending with imprecations and attestations. So entirely a matter of common form had this become, that an endowment in favour of a church of Tamil Christians ended with the imprecation, that the violator of the grant would incur the same sin as one who killed a black cow on the banks of the Ganges. II, private transfers; III, memorials of a widow-burning, or religious suicide; IV, the erection and repair of temples, or dedication of images; V, the erection of resting places, or dedication of particular articles, such as bells, &c.; VI, dedicatory adorations, and explanations of sculptures. Bilingual inscriptions are very rare.

Unfortunately the inscriptions already known belong to a few periods and dynasties leaving wide gaps. The historical sense was quite absent from India; if facts are recorded, they are mixed up with absurd fables and such inscriptions as have been deciphered, have quite destroyed existing traditions. A scientific study on a larger field will lead to large and important results: here is the work of the next generation.

An interesting specimen of monumental inscriptions in Southern India is supplied by the six tablets of the Syrian Church in Travancore. The first five tablets are in the old Kanarese character. The sixth contains the signatures of the witnesses, which present features of great interest. Eleven are in the Cufic character; ten are in the cursive form of Sassanian Pahlavi: the last four are in the Chaldæan Pahlavi character, but the language is Persian. They date back to the ninth century, and convey the historical fact of the presence of writers of Pahlavi and Cufic

at that time and place, and may possibly throw a light upon the true origin of this church, as there is no trace of Syriac in these tablets. Inscriptions in the same character are found at the Mount, near Madras.

The Island of Ceylon inherited its civilization, religion and language from India, and also the taste for monumental inscriptions. No part of India has been so fortunate as this island. It is true that the history of the Sinhalese kings is comparatively well-known from the chronicles, such as the *Mahawanso*; but there is an uninterrupted series of inscriptions in the vernacular language of the people from the period of the introduction of Indian Buddhism. Thus a continued history of the Sinhalese language, and the Sinhalese written character can be traced back to a period far beyond what is possible for any of the other living vernaculars of India. The Government of Ceylon have taken efficient steps to secure copies and translations of all inscriptions, and the language presents no difficulties here. They are found in caves, on rocks, on stone pillars, and on inscribed stones in dagobahs and temples. Many have perished, and more have suffered damage. The figures of a dog and crow engraved on one side of the pillars are supposed to imply a curse against any one who should violate the condition of the grant conveyed—the curse of being born again in such degraded animal forms. Very little historical interest is to be found in these inscriptions. Some are in the Tamil language, and Sanskrit is used very exceptionally. The subjects are chiefly connected with the priesthood and religion. The interest therefore chiefly rests upon the continuity and the use of the vernacular Sinhalese form at a period antecedent to the Christian era. We are deeply indebted to the late Dr. Goldschmidt for the labors which cost him his life.

We pass over into the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, the whole of which, with the exception of Annam, owes its civilization to India. In the great Burmese kingdom there are inscriptions on the ancient buildings of Pagáu the deserted capital; but here the field is still open to the inquirer. There is the incidental interest of Burmese inscriptions found at Gaya, sufficiently explained by the mission to the sacred scenes of Buddhistic legends. What a thrill of delight would pass through antiquarian circles, could future excavations stumble upon some tablet, or rock, bearing tokens of the visit of the Chinese travellers Fa-Hian and Hiouen-Tsang! More impossible things have happened. We invite the attention of Captain Forbes and Major Fyler, and other scholars now in Burma, to the subjects of Burmese inscriptions.

A surprise awaits us to read in the pages of a competent authority, that the Karens, though they had no books and no recognized written character, yet had some sort of inscriptions on plates of metal and ivory. No scientific investigation has been made as yet into these general statements of the American Baptist missionaries, and it is impossible to say what these records will turn out to be.

In the Peninsula of Malacca inscriptions have been found, which prove that Hindu settlements formerly existed there; though they have left no other traces than half-obliterated inscriptions on the rocks in the forest. Here again we must trust to future inquirers, and to some antiquarian at Penang or Singapore.

In the kingdom of Siam we find something more tangible, and worthy of note. It is clear that monumental inscriptions of any size and importance can only be found where there has been a settled polity and accumulated wealth, and, with few exceptions, an absolute monarchy. Republics, with the exception of Athens, have not left monumental traces behind them. Rome began to be monumental when it ceased to be republican. In Siam there has been a powerful and wealthy State; in the ancient capital of Ayuthia on the River Menam, fifty miles higher up than the modern capital of Bangkok are most extensive ruins, and an inscription in some form of the Indian alphabet, dated 1284 A.D. The King of Siam asserted that it was the oldest specimen of the Siamese language, and that at that period the use of letters was introduced from Kambodia, and superseded the alphabet from India, or the Pali. This statement is not worth much, as we find that in the temple court of the royal palace at Bangkok are three stone inscriptions, discovered on the site of ancient cities; of these copies have been made. That of Sukkothay is the oldest, with an assigned date of 1193 A. D. The letters are of a more ancient type, and the deeds of a king are celebrated. The second is from Labong in the subject kingdom of Laos, and details the bringing of relics and the merits accumulated thereby. The third, of Kamphungphet near Rahaing, contains details that may be useful in bringing into order Siamese chronology, but is not yet satisfactorily translated. As the King has a printing press of his own, we commend this subject to the attention of European residents at Bangkok. The antiquity is not great, but the foundation of true history with regard to the migration of the Indo-Chinese people could be laid.

Of a higher class of interest are the old inscriptions in the ruins of Angkor in Kambodia. Photographs have been supplied of some of them by the officers of the French expedition up the

River Mekong : they are in the old Khmer character, and not intelligible to the modern Kambojan. The language is archaic, and the tradition with regard to its interpretation has ceased. Clearly here is room for much interesting information to be supplied by the accomplished French scholar, M. Aymonier, who represents the French Government at the capital of the protected State of Kambodia.

We quit temporarily the Continent of Asia, to throw a glance over the Islands of Java, and Sumatra. It is well-known that Java owes its civilization, ancient religion, and written character, to the East coast of the Indian Peninsula. Much has been done by the Dutch scholars Kohen-Stuart, Frederich and others, to collect and publish the monumental inscriptions on stone, which are found both in Sanskrit and Kawi, which is old Javanese. Not much of historical importance has as yet transpired from these inscriptions, but they have led to interesting linguistic and palaeographical conclusions. The date of the oldest is fixed at 450 A.D. Some are found engraven on rocks near Buitenzong ; they are intended to record a conquest or taking possession of the country by engraving the impression of the king's feet on a rock. With these inscriptions in view it is impossible to doubt the general truth of the Java tradition, which looks back to Kalinga on the Eastern coast as the original home of the people ; even a closer localization is attempted by Mr. Burnell from an ingenious consideration of certain details. We look forward to a compendious "history of Java from the monuments," from the accomplished scholar Dr. Kern of Leyden, who is well-known both at Benares and Batavia, being learned in the lore of the archaic languages of nearer and further India. The existence of Sanskrit and Kawi inscriptions in the Island of Sumatra, is mentioned by Raffles and we cannot doubt but that they will be found in the Island of Bali also, the last refuge of the Hindu people.

We replace our feet on the Continent of Asia, and enter the great domains of Chinese culture. The Chinese have been before us here also, as they have works on lapidary inscriptions, dating back to the seventeenth century. We have only space to notice two remarkable monuments which would have attracted notice in any country. In the Province of Shen-si, at Singanfu, or Chujjan, in 1624, workmen were digging the foundation of a house, when they hit upon a slab of stone, covered with inscriptions. The governor had it set up in a protected spot near a temple. It was found to contain a long inscription in Chinese, and lines of the well-known Syriac character surrounding it. It was perfectly intelligible ; in the Syriac was noted the date of erection, the

names of the reigning Nestorian Patriarch, and the chief ecclesiastical authorities of the Christian Church in China; to this were added the names of seventy-seven persons, chiefly priests of Western Asia, and sixty-one Chinese, nearly all of whom were priests. In the Chinese was an account of the Christian doctrine, but in vague terms; of the arrival of the missionaries in 635 A.D. from the Empire of Tahtsin, or Syria; of a decree of the emperor in favour of the new doctrine, and of the spread of the religion. The Syrian date tallies exactly with the Chinese. History tells us that a century later the Nestorian Church was extinguished in China a long time before the arrival of the Jesuits, in comparatively modern times. It need scarcely be said that this famous inscription gave rise to much doubt and severe criticism. Some attributed it to a device of the Jesuits, but the general opinion seems now to be that it is genuine; it was visited in modern times by some Protestant missionaries and reported to be still perfect, though all around was in ruins. Two years ago it was reported to have been destroyed by the Mahomedan insurgents. It must ever rank among the most important and illustrious of monumental inscriptions.

No less interesting, though from a totally different reason, is the great inscription in six languages at Keu-yung kwan, an archway in the Nankow pass, which all travellers from Peking to the town of Kalgau, on the great wall of China, must pass. It is engrossed in the characters of six different nations, and covers the greater part of the inner facing of the structure on both sides, from the basement to the spring of the arch. Two of the parts are inscribed in horizontal lines, at a great height from the ground, in archaic Indian and Tibetan characters, twenty feet long on each wall. Below these are four compartments, inscribed respectively in Mongol, Ouigour, Neuchih and Chinese characters. It dates back more than five centuries, and has suffered much from the weather: all are transcripts of the Sanskrit original, but no one version is an exact counterpart of the other. The Sanskrit was found to be a Buddhistic precept, and fortunately a copy of the Chinese version has been found in a book of ritual. The Mongol version is in the alphabet called Bashpah, which was devised by order of the Emperor Kabla, but is now quite obsolete. The Ouigour is an alphabet traced back to the Phœnician, with a history well known. The Neuchih is the syllabary of the Kin dynasty, enforced by an imperial decree 1119 A. D., and known as the large Neuchih; in 1145 the small Neuchih was introduced. In fact each Tartar dynasty which ruled over China, thought it part of its prerogative to devise a new phonetic medium, and to abandon that of its predecessors. The Chinese ideographic system being

deeply rooted in the monosyllabic language, has held its own, and the time seems past for any possible change either in the structure of the language or the character.

We pause at the edge of the extreme Orient. China, Japan, and Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and the vast tracts of Northern Asia may have treasures of monumental inscriptions still to be revealed, but none have reached our note-book. So far, at least, they may be presumed not to exist. Before we lay down our pen, we may notice in two words the inscriptions in Central America, in Yucatan, and at Easter Island in Australasia.

The thought comes over us that we hear the voices of the men who have gone before us, played their little part on the stage of life, and have departed: they were true men like ourselves, and they desired to be known to posterity, and for centuries their wishes in many cases have been ungratified. It was the pleasure of one generation to disregard the messages of the preceding, and it did not matter much to the great dead, who had passed away, whether they were remembered or forgotten: to this generation has fallen the privilege of gathering the first fruits of the harvest of the ancient world. What will future ages think of us? Will our grand-children think that we were in this matter of inscription-hunting slow, and stupid, and knew nothing at all? The Tiber may be turned from its course for a few weeks and reveal such treasures as will cast all that we have hitherto found into the shade. There is no manner of reason why we should not find the ten tables of the Roman Law, and the two stone tables of the Jewish Law; that some lucky chance may reveal the stone on the banks of the River Beas, which history tells us Alexander the Great put up with the inscription which the Latin authors translate:—"Ego Alexander huc perveni."

The rights of ancient families have been maintained and perpetuated by a single tomb-stone. So the stones cry out against some of the lies of "*Græcia Mendax*," and the egotistic boast of the Jew and Christian, that all goodness came into existence with them, and was their monopoly. The subject is of enormous importance. On England has devolved the duty as regards Eastern Asia, which Germany has so nobly performed with regard to the inscriptions of Greece and Italy, and which France has undertaken for North Africa and Western Asia. Nothing short of an ancient inscription society, with branches at different portions of the field, will maintain continuity and uniformity of procedure. As far back as 1807, seventy-two years ago the old and wise man, Colebrooke, called attention to this subject, and his words should ring in our ears. "It is not on a first or cursory examination that the utility of any particular monument for the illustration

“of the civil and literary history of the country may be certainly
“determined. Those, which at first sight appear uninteresting,
“may be afterwards found to bear strongly on some important
“point. We may gather what has been the state of arts, of
“sciences, of manners, in remote ages, among ancient and civilized
“nations, and learn what has been the succession of doctrines,
“religious and philosophical, among nations prone to superstition.”
Let every reader of these lines keep a note-book, and copy down
faithfully every inscription small or great that comes in his way,
and forward copies to the Asiatic Society of the province to
which he belongs : thus and thus only can the materials be accumu-
lated, preserved, and arranged for future historians.

ART VI.—THE LAW OF EASEMENTS IN THE PANJAB AND THE FORMATION OF CUSTOMARY LAW.

“THE long and continuous course of action which has been pursued by the Indian Government in all its branches, forbids me to regard the question of giving a Civil Code to India “as in any sense an open one.” Thus wrote the Secretary of State more than three years ago, in a tone which the Government of India could not fail to catch. True, in an able letter of the preceding year, it had been on this side pointed out with regard to proposed codification of the law of Negotiable Instruments, that enquiry from the best informed persons showed the probability by the introduction of a code, of “creating difficulty where none now existed ;” a doubt had also been started “whether” a code on the subject of tortuous acts or wrongs “would benefit Indian society ;” and finally a deprecatory warning had been given in clear and forcible terms, against “introducing new laws” into India “taller than it can bear.” Notwithstanding all this the dominant voice of authority was recognised and obeyed. If the Secretary of State, by a polite fiction, “felt himself forbidden” by the action of the Government of India (in all its branches) to allow discussion on the point, *a fortiori* would the Government of India “feel itself forbidden” to do so by the declared wish of the Secretary of State—(an illustrious exemplification of the precept, “Suit the action to the word, and the word to the action.”) Regret was becomingly expressed that the unambiguous meaning of the preceding year’s despatch should have been construed as any thing else than a loyal adhesion to the principle of codification *à l’outrance*, and fluency was found in giving fresh reasons for adopting the policy now clearly seen to be imperial. Yet, in spite of the facility with which this change of front was made, we think it must be regretted. It is difficult, indeed, to unite freedom of expression and independence of criticism in such a matter, with that proper show of respect which, as a matter of common sense, is due, and which only conceit, or ill-breeding, could omit. If in the course of the following remarks we do not secure this happy union, we trust that the failure may be ascribed rather to infirmity of execution than to obscurity of purpose.

There appear two very distinct meanings of the word “codification” as applied to Indian law—meanings which, while, logically, perhaps, diverse only in degree, yet practically become diverse also in kind. The laws of India might fairly be said to be codified if each province had its separate code, and speaking techni-

cally, it would be but a further step or degree in codification, if, out of the local sets of laws, a general code were formed as *corpus juris* for all India. But, as a matter of fact, the actual result would be something very different; the elemental codes, in being amalgamated would lose their character, and assume another: they would, to use a well-known figure of science, unite, not as mechanical mixtures, but as chemical compounds. The resultant code must necessarily want all the the differentiating characteristics of its provincial components; it must be something *sui generis* as regards style, conceptions and terms. The style must be more abstract, the conceptions vaguer, the terms of greater breadth and inclusiveness. And this, in a code where definition would be so heavy a work, would be difference incalculable. Proceeding in a direction theoretically the same, our legislators would find themselves, by "the inexorable logic of fact", turned round and briskly started in another. Imagine, for example, an attempted general Indian code of Rent and Tenancy Law. To any one, indeed, even moderately conversant with the difficulties of the subject, the proposal will seem preposterous, but it will serve our present purpose. If a combination could be made even of the Acts on Rent and Tenancy Law at present in force, respectively in the Panjab, N.-W. P. and Bengal, what would be the result? Necessarily either a rapid and colourless set of general principles, which would be practically harmless because inoperative, or a hard and fast code utterly impracticable for its purpose, however tastefully adapted and compiled, it might be, from the great Justinian, with cross-lights from the modern jurists, and elucidated by the philosophical disquisitions of commentators on English law.

The two meanings of the word "codification" have, we suspect been interchanged during the long period in which the Government of India has taken such action as to forbid the discussion of the question. This suggestion might seem impertinent, were it not an admitted fact in the phenomena of human opinions, that verbal fallacies long lie undetected even in quarters of the highest authority. Of codification in the first meaning, that of Provincial Codes, little can be said but praise. It ascertains, simplifies, and makes public the law of the land. While taking away the range possible to the caprice of the administrator, it benefits at the same time those who are under the administrator by letting them know more clearly their rights. But the merits of this kind of codification may have, we venture to think, been transferred to its more ambitious fellow. If we might dare, in a bold flight of fancy to transport ourselves within the precincts of that august chamber wherein the destinies of the Indian millions are guided, we might perhaps overhear the decisive voice of the noble Secretary saying to one of those honoured men

who act as "pillars of the empire" at a distance of six thousand miles,—“Codification, Sir Henry, (or Sir Philip) of course you look on as a great desideratum, in fact as a great necessity, remembering how young some of our officers are.” And the honoured man, grey with the work of thirty years’ service, looking back on the days when he had to make his own law, and remembering the trouble and care it cost him to make that law seem right to his own conscience, answers honestly enough—“Oh, certainly, my Lord.” Whereby he means (if we might continue the audacious speculation) no more than that it would be a very good thing if the law were drawn up in a set of plain, practical rules. But the decisive voice is prompted by other thoughts. Full of imperial ideas, and knowing nothing of the actual surroundings of the Indian administrator, its noble owner has drafted an able despatch recommending the completion of the Civil Code to the early and express notice of the Government of India as one of the most urgent calls on its beneficent energies. “*Hinc hæ lachrymæ.*” Provincial codification is ignored, or superseded by one gigantic monster which seizes in its Procustean hands all the irregular developments of local usage and well-known custom, and reduces them to the square-cut proportions of its iron-like frame. The desire to see a comprehensive and symmetrical civil code must no doubt be keen in the illustriously gifted mind of a legal member of council. But would any one, looking at the great variety of races throughout India, and considering, even for a moment, the almost endless diversity of social usage, of practices in trade, and above all, of agricultural customs and traditions, would any one deliberately say that this is feasible in many of the branches of the civil law? Would any one claiming to be worthy of a hearing, advise a uniform codification of the civil law of England, Scotland, and Ireland? Is the case less adverse in India? We cannot think it is. We have just now contemplated the attempted codification of some provincial laws which already exist in a body.—Take also the case of law in a great measure yet unembodied. Could any one devise a set of words which, within reasonable compass, should lay down the civil rights of property, its encumbrances, subsidiary benefits, inheritance, and transfer, at once for the Bombay ryot and the Panjab village proprietor? If it be said that the subject of inheritance would be given up as impracticable; then it is plain that the utility of the scheme is at once considerably diminished.

If it is true that a general code must be different in character from provincial codes, it is also true that the agency used in drawing it up will be different. For the laws of a province, the best compilers will probably be men of administrative ability and experience, who have served in that province and know its

needs, since they know the idiosyncrasies of its people. But for the more abstract work of drafting a general code such men are, and know themselves to be, but partially competent. Those who have gained the truest wisdom from experience will be most cautious not to extend inductions beyond the legitimate sphere of such experience. In the Viceregal Council, therefore, there must always be weak points in the chain—in the circle of law-makers—points which it is the arduous work of the legal member to take up and strengthen, by uniting in his own person as it were substitutively the experience of the able men around him.

The difficulty of the task may be gauged by the results. One of the latest of these is an attempt to define and amend the Law of Easements, embodied in a Bill which, whatever be its other qualifications, must obtain respect and admiration for its learning and research. But objections may, we think, be justly raised against its usefulness; and a few of these we proceed to indicate, confining our attention to the law as it is intended to affect the Punjab. No apology is, we conceive, needed for this comparative localization, as the interests of nineteen millions of our fellow-subjects appear sufficiently important to merit, on such a matter, our undivided attention.

Assuming that the "statement of objects and reasons" contains briefly an official summary of what is intended to meet anticipated criticism, we are at once struck with the singularity of the source chosen for the origin of our new law, and the singularity of the reason given for choosing that source. "The Bill," says its learned author, "is mainly based on the law of England, which, being almost free from local peculiarities, has been held to regulate the subject in this country; but a few deviations (hereinafter specified) have been made from that law, and rules, as to some matters which have not hitherto come under the cognizance of the English and Indian courts, have been adapted from the Roman law and the writings of modern jurists."

This reasoning, be it said with all respect for the authority of the reasoner, is seriously questionable. The recommendation mentioned of the English law is at the most a negative one, and to make it valuable, it would be necessary to show that the Punjab is suited for a system without local peculiarities. But this manifestly is not the case. There are two distinguishing characteristics of the Punjab agricultural economy which mark it at once as utterly diverse from that of any country not possessing those characteristics. First, the system of land-tenure, whether of proprietor or tenant, is peculiar and complicated with local practices and special incidents, no less important than interesting. Secondly, the system of irrigation is varied and intricate; it has

grown up in some cases during centuries, and in every case it is conducted according to certain traditional rules, which, though unwritten, are not disregarded. To take England with its long historic development of tenant-farmers and large landowners, and its agriculture mainly dependent on rain moisture, and transplant any fact whatever of its laws on such matters to the Punjab, must be a conspicuously unsuccessful, and, we cannot but think, an unreasonably attempted task. The application, for instance, of the technical English common law of land trespass would certainly, in the Punjab, produce litigation without end. Those of our readers who have ever seen one of the gaily-coloured maps showing the partition of village lands hitherto held in common, will remember the brilliant side-by-side contrasts of blue and yellow, and orange and green, which prevail in irregular patches all over the paper. This means that the holdings of the several parties are much scattered, and, though clearly demarcated, they lie among fields of their neighbours. The monotony of the quiet village life is often varied by interesting disputes, but it never occurs to any one, without special and actual damage done, to stop even his enemy for the time being from coming and going across his land. The zemindar has keen ideas about the quality of his land, and insists on equality in this respect as well as in extent. To secure it he will follow his rights even to the other end of the village, though when he gets them there, they will be in the form of a strip of ground surrounded on all sides by the property of others. Clearly, English ideas of trespass would not do here. It is a special feature in the native character (forming indeed part of the general trait of adaptability, or mental suppleness) that any opportunity of new legal power or right is eagerly seized. The system of appeal, with its excitement of alternate victory and defeat as the case goes up from one court to another, is used by many as a kind of legal gambling in which the costs, at least, are often double or quits, and are looked on as an important part of the stakes. It is not an uncommon thing to find villages with such a notoriously litigious character, that it is said they always have one or two suits going on in the courts (it does not matter for what, so much), as they must have their excitement, and (it may be presumed) require to keep their hand in. In some of the less settled parts of the province where there linger, perhaps, half-regretful memories of the times

When every day brought out a noble chance
And every chance brought forth a noble knight,

where the old hereditary feuds still retain a surprising vitality, and villages, and even sets of villages, are divided into two factions, the origin of which is now lost in tradition, the frank avowal is

sometimes made,—“What can we do, we cannot break heads ; at least the Government punishes us heavily if we do ; the only “weapon a man can use for his faction is a false oath :” and the weapon is freely used. Now, to give to such men an idea of what would be practically a new legal crime, would be, as it seems to us, little short of infatuation. If it be replied that the subject of trespass in connection with rights of way would be treated with local colouring, the objection loses some of its force, but then so does the remark that “the English law has been held to apply.”

Again, what prototype can England supply for rules on the subject of irrigation and its innumerable circumstances and conditions. Irrigation in the Punjab is perhaps the most important feature of its agriculture,—it increases yearly, whether by canal, reservoir, or well ; and, in its rules for distribution, may be thought to rival in complexity anything of the kind anywhere. Of the two great kinds of easements, those styled “rural” would be by far the more important, and among “rural” easements, rights connected with water would be probably the most numerous and valuable. For this immense body of varied rules, already existing, be it remembered, and working on the whole admirably, what governing facts and principles can we find in English law. Recourse being had to the Roman law, will improvement be made ? We cannot see in what way it is likely, even if possible. Mr. Mill in a picturesque passage of his *Political Economy*, quotes with almost enthusiastic approbation an account of the artificial irrigation in Lombardy. He describes the minute division of the common supply, and the numerous rills of water led for considerable distances through the properties of different owners, and justly argues that this practical exemplification of the principle of co-operation implies a very considerable degree of civilization and self-government among the agriculturists who practise it. But we have all this in the Punjab, as in many other parts of India also. The same co-operation is observed, nay, carried often to a higher pitch. Let any one watch the minute division of water in a canal distributary, or stand by a Persian wheel and see how regularly and carefully water drawn up by bullocks which often belong to different owners, is sent down one after another of the little channels which feed the crops in all directions of the compass ; let him question an ordinary zemindar as to his share in the well (often calculated as so many strands in the thick well-rope) and after pondering on the readiness of his usually slow wit in this respect, and observing on all sides of him the practical outcome of such wit, let him say whether, to reduce this system to one of technical law would not be really going backward in social economy. The same remarks apply with equal or greater force to the irrigation from hill-streams and torrents. The

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water-supply here varies greatly. Some hill-streams dry up altogether for eight months in the year; others which come down in the rains with a rushing torrent which no horseman can ford for hours together, either dry up, or keep up the memory of their dignity by a tiny trickling rivulet, with water barely enough to quench one's thirst. The irrigation from every one of these streams is regulated by custom, which is often unwritten, but is well known to those interested. Different rules are observed in many cases on the several occasions of a light, a full, and a heavy rain. The withdrawal or adjustment of a boulder in the stony bed of the stream will make a difference in distribution which is jealously watched by the different parties. Nothing can exceed the nicety of such distribution in its normal state. True it is, that the subject often causes fights, sometimes feuds. But there is a special reason for this, which, by the way, exemplifies very forcibly how very different English circumstances and ideas are from those of the Punjab Jat or Awān. The cause of quarrel here is the *scarcity* of water. Now supposing that an English lawyer ever got to the length of conceiving of, and legislating for, artificial irrigation, he would have to think more of regulating the disposal of an excess, than of eking out a deficient supply, of water. That this conjecture is not baseless, may be seen from the language of Section 11 of the Bill:—

“The owner or occupier of upper land has not, as such, any “right that water naturally rising or falling on such land, and not “passing in defined channels, shall be allowed by the owner of “adjacent lower lands to run naturally thereto.”

What is here aimed at, is apparently the prevention of flooding a neighbour's land with an untoward stream of water that is not wanted. But in the Punjab, in nine cases at least out of ten, the water is wanted, and more of it than can be got. In a country with an intensely torrid sun, and a light soil, for the most part sandy and porous, the ground is for months in the year dry and parched, and needs all the friendly moisture it can get. So far, then, from quarreling with your neighbour above you for letting the drainage water pour on to your field after fertilising his own, it is the very thing you expect him to do, and in many parts you would make a forcible complaint if he did not do so. There are many submontane districts in the Punjab, and in these the greater part of the cultivation is in terraced fields on the side of the hill. The man at the top of the terraces appropriates all the drainage he can from the uncultivated ground on the summit, often assisting it by cunningly-slanted ridges of earth which prevent the precious moisture from running away through the numerous crevices and chasms among the rocks. On the lower side of his

field he has an earthen ridge some two feet, perhaps three feet high, and thus, when the rain comes, he gets a broad sheet of water on his field. This, when soaked sufficiently into his ground, he disposes of by cutting a small hole in the ridge, and the surplus water comes down to the next man, who does the same in his turn, and so on, till the water is exhausted. It would be hard to say that this right of the owner or occupier is *unnatural*: it is at all events common sense, and answers admirably.

Again in Section 9, among "natural rights" (what would Jurisprudence Austin have said to this) we find:—

'Every owner of land abutting on a natural stream has a right 'to use and consume the water for drinking.....and for irrigating 'such land.....provided that he does not thereby cause material 'injury to other like owners whose land is situate lower down the stream.' Leaving alone the question whether this would not prove inconsistent with Government rights, as declared in the preamble to Act VII of 1873, the difficulty arises, how, in a thirsty land like the Punjab, an agriculturist could 'consume' water in irrigation without pro tanto doing material damage to the men below him. Is not the answer clear that there is an underlying fallacious assumption of a prevalent abundance of water, whereas in point of fact it is only exceptional floods, lasting but a few hours, that afford such abundance,—as an ordinary thing there is scarcity. Here too is direct conflict with existing practice; at the present moment there are thousands of acres in the Punjab lying unfertilised, because unflooded by water intercepted by the eager hands of owners cultivating higher up its course. In many parts water is literally the life of the soil, and every drop taken away is a material injury, as it means so much less produce.

In speaking of conflict with existing practice, we have (perhaps unduly) assumed that this is a point of importance. But, remembering that the English law has been held to apply, we regretfully come to the conclusion that in the main it is not; we should indeed be glad to think otherwise, for the policy thus indicated is not easy to appreciate. The learned author of the bill has a genuine admiration for the Roman law. We would remind him, then, that the imperial editor of the Institutes, with all the confidence of despotic authority promulgating the new compilation, speaks of it with unusual modesty; *in quibus breviter expositum est, et quod antea obtinebat, et quod postea desuetudine inumbra- 'tum, imperiali remedio illuminatum est.*' The latter part of this deliverance seems especially worthy of consideration in these days.

Whether 'illumination,' too, will follow from the publication of the Bill, seems doubtful. It has long since been acknowledged

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as an important object for a benevolent Government to aim at imparting instruction to the people under its rule. It would, too, perhaps (in theory) be admitted, as Bentham puts it, that 'the principal sort of instruction which Governments owe to the people is knowledge of the laws.' But no one, we fear, after reading through a dozen sections of the Bill could have a reasonable hope of making them understood—we do not say as to their exact terms, but only as to their essential meanings—by even an intelligent banya, or a shrewd zamindar of the better class, who are the oriental counterpart of English yeomen. And if not by these, the law is not likely to be understood by any considerable proportion of its subjects. We are aware that this test would tell heavily against other pieces of legal workmanship which are made much of in their way, or at least have corpulent commentaries consecrated to them. Be it so; yet this is nothing against the justice of the test above mentioned. The case is indeed very shortly stated. One of the main objects of codification is to *publish* the law, and the law is published that it may be known by 'that many-headed beast, the public'. It is doubtful, however, or more than doubtful, whether the public has head enough to understand such laws. Therefore codification, as at present conducted, seems likely to fail in an important part of its object. Another very important aim is doubtless to educate the educators—to teach the administrators what to administer. Yet the talent of the Civil Service would perhaps be content with something less than the casuistic abstractions of some of the most ambitious results of recent legislation.

We have not space, even had we the ability, to criticise exhaustively the details of the bill. Our present object is the practical one of raising for consideration the point whether in any shape at all like the present—whether as a general Bill in any shape, a code on the subject of easements can with advantage be provided for the Punjab in common with the other provinces of India. If full enquiry shows, as we think it will, that this cannot be done, the further question will arise, what course is best to pursue. Is there any alternative preferable to Imperial codification? That we think there is, has been partially indicated above in speaking of provincial codes. We believe that for each province, or at all events for the Punjab, a set of rules to have the force of law, simple and yet comprehensive enough for the purpose, might be advantageously drawn up by officers of local experience and proved ability. If it were considered necessary to have something like the form of a code, such provincial rules might receive authority from one general enactment, which should indicate broadly the principles to be followed in making the rules; all

details being left to the Local Government. This compromise has already been successfully practised in more than one recent measure, and its advantages are as real as they are easily perceived. Such legislation maintains the preciseness of formal authority and the prestige of the highest legal sanction, while at the same time it obtains the elasticity, and suitableness to popular wants, which are derived only from intimate provincial experience and local sympathy.

There is, however, a 'third course' open to Government, though, from what we have seen above of the declared policy of our rulers, it does not seem likely to be adopted, *viz.*, to leave things as they are, without a code at all,—Imperial or Provincial. We think it is in that delightful book, 'Westward Ho!' that one of the characters,—probably the matter of fact hero, Amyas Leigh, himself says:—'Leave well alone is a good rule, but leave ill alone is a better.' Which pertinent advice was offered, it may be, because the giant deprecated interference when things were going with his enemies as they deserved, and he was not sorry to see them being mauled. There is, however, here no motive suspected or imputed, but a benevolent wish to see the matter settled in the best way practicable, nor do we suppose that any one dealing with reasonable objections, however weakly urged, would hesitate to give up a hobby of his own, if he saw it to be mischievous. True, it might be difficult to persuade a legal member that one of his 'clearly and compactly' defining sections was, as a matter of fact, likely to do harm. But at the same time the *status quo* can be maintained only on condition of its appearing good, or at least as compared with any practicable reform, not inferior? Is this so?

There is certainly a cogent presumption in favour of the present state of things, derived from the apparent disinclination on the part of the local Government—we do not say to further the bill—but to make any change at all. In accordance with what may now be regarded as the established practice, the bill was sent to the Government of the Punjab for opinion and remarks. We do not think we are violating any official secret in saying that the proposed enactment has in this quarter met with a firm and decided protest, and that protest will probably command the assent of most persons in the province who give attention to the questions in issue. The personal opinion of the present Lieutenant-Governor must always carry great weight in the discussion of all measures proposed for the province with which he has been so long connected, and the people that he knows so well; and no one can doubt that in the present instance his personal opinion is being vigorously shown. There is no need to remark on this, considered as a heavily telling testimony against

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the bill. It will most probably be sufficient of itself to delay the promulgation of the proposed law till further enquiry be made, which, whatever its particular result, cannot but be beneficial in generally elucidating the difficulties of the subject. But we confess ourselves somewhat disconcerted at finding an apparent approval bestowed by such an authority on the procedure now in force for the formation of easement law and indeed of customary law in general, in the Panjab. Let us briefly examine that one process, confining our attention mainly to the customs of agriculturists and agriculture. Our remarks up to this point might perhaps obtain the support of authority; henceforward, we seem to be without it, and we speak therefore with increased diffidence.

There are in the Panjab two stages in the formation of village customary law; the inceptive and the final. The first stage is begun in the settlement, either positively, or by an omission negatively, by the people themselves or their 'natural leaders'—the final stage is accomplished, the seal of authority is set, in the judgments of the civil courts, either confirming, modifying, or abrogating the law in embryo. The theory of this procedure is beautiful; it *should* combine in a harmonious degree the popularity of democracy with the dignity of a conservative and intelligent tribunal; it encourages us to think of the future reign of law,—of the coming time of which, under various names and types, the Laureate has such earnest and persistent anticipations:—

'For I dipped into the future, far as human eye could see;
'Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be
* * * *

'Then the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe
'And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapped in universal law.'

But how does the theory work? To those of our readers who are unacquainted with the system of village records in the Panjab we must explain, that, among the papers which are ordinarily drawn up at the settlement of the land revenue, and which form, as it were, the village Doomsday book, is a document called the Administration Paper (Urdu, *Wajib-ul-arz*). This purports to mention, clearly and compactly, the chief points of village practice in all that concerns the agriculturists in their relations with Government, with other persons and villages, and with each other. Each administration paper, having been drawn up in rough by a subordinate after enquiry at the village, is personally attested (again after enquiry) as to each section, by the principal settlement official of the tehsil—the superintendent.' The European officer in charge of the settlement is required to maintain a vigilant personal control over this work. The seals, signatures, or marks

of all persons present at the attestation are taken—the document is signed by the attesting officer and forms part of the village record. Its declaration on any point such as has been noted above bears with it a presumption of the truth of that declaration by its mere production in a court of law. All this we consider perfectly just and fitting—to ask for less would be to stultify the deliberate proceedings of a responsible, and generally intelligent hardworking native officer of experience. But while the part taken by him in the proceedings approaches in some reasonable degree the excellence of the theory, the part acted by the people does not. Two cardinal errors seems to underlie the working out of the theory here, *viz.*, the want of intelligence among those who constitute the people during the attestation; and secondly, the prevalence of a wrong theory of estoppel, as it seems to us, in reference to the binding force of the document.

A man, as is well known, is estopped in English law when he has said or done something, or permitted something to be done, which the law will not allow him to gainsay. And the principles which form the foundation of such estoppel are mainly two;—first the all but conclusive probability that a man deliberately pursuing his own interests makes statements and does acts as advantageous as may be for those interests. Consequently when those statements and acts partake of the nature of admissions, derogatory to or qualifying the man's interests, they are almost certainly true. The other principle, which is in its nature derivative, is the expediency, necessary alike for the despatch of public business and for the maintenance of public virtue, of making men, as a rule, stand by their word. But the adjustment of these principles in their practical application is a matter of nicety. So long as there is intellectual harmony (based on some fair measure of intellectual equality) between the legal procedure and its subjects, so long may the formal estoppel, as we may call it, fairly be made stringent; but whenever this harmony is wanting, as for instance when the force of circumstances causes even a dignified and reasonable procedure to press hardly on an illiterate, impulsive, and improvident people, then it becomes at times a source of serious harm, if the formal estoppel is not dealt with tenderly. In such case even the equitable estoppel, *viz.*, the not allowing a man to gainsay his action or word¹ because it is from his own statement probably true; even this must be kept within very moderate bounds.

Now it is a matter of daily experience, and one which not a little perplexes all who take an interest in the future development of our administration, that the working of the estoppel on its present basis in the Punjab is almost wholly unsatisfactory. The stock example is the question of the denial of receipt of consideration

under a bond. In certain districts probably more than half the suits on bonds are met with a flat denial on the part of the defendant. The plea of the zamindar which, from his dogged fierceness, is apt to pass for the whole truth, is generally something to this effect—that the defendant's father gave a bond of which defendant himself knows nothing—that plaintiff wheedled him into giving a bond say for Rs. 300 of which he has received nothing—that plaintiff told him he should get Rs. 150 at the time of mutation of names, but that when mutation had taken place, he didn't give him the money, and so on. The truth will probably lie between the two extremes; the plaintiff almost certainly (unless he has strong friends in the village and so is tempted to fabricate bonds) paid the recalcitrant debtor something, while almost as certainly he did not pay him all. Now, not to allow defendant to deny his seal or mark (which of course is manifest on the bond with all the pomp and circumstance of attestation by two casual witnesses) would be a simple way of disposing of the case, but, it need hardly be said, would not be satisfactory to English ideas of justice. If the bond is registered, it is almost worse; the facts remain the same, the only difference being a slight benefit as to rate of interest to the borrower. It would seem the opinion of the money-lenders that notwithstanding the strong efforts of some civil judges to get at the bottom of every case, legal ideas are gradually gaining the day. If the zamindar chooses to lie (says Themis) he must suffer the consequences—and there is no doubt that he both lies, and suffers.

If the zamindar fares badly in court, he is not much better off in the attestation of his village administration paper. True, he is a peasant proprietor, and a peasant proprietor, *vide* Mr. John Stuart Mill, (whenever he gets an opportunity) is, or ought to be, a model of providence, intelligence, and thrift. Yet each of these qualities is conspicuously wanting in our friend. And if he is one of the average class to whom the impersonations of the goddess of justice are chiefly the degenerate 'avatars' of the thanadar and tehsildar—if he pays in his revenue in the usual way, with a glimmering hope that the *patwari* may not cheat him much, but feeling that if he does, it is not in his power to prevent him; if in fact he plays the rôle of the ordinary zamindar of the Panjab, he is not a man who can fairly be bound by what he says and does. That is, not until our system of education is materially altered, developed, and popularised.

If then the technical law of estoppel is here unjust, what is the alternative? To appreciate justly usages and customs in our customary law we must get at the *vox populi* in some way. How is it to be done? We think the answer will be something like this. Granted, that the English theory of estoppel is out of place;

granted that it is not safe to hold a man to his word, or, merely because he has made a statement against his own interests, to conclude that the statement is true, there still remains another means of creating an artificial presumption, which may be called the estoppel of authority. Shall we not get the truth, or what on the whole is nearest the truth, on any disputed custom, by taking the deliberate, and as yet not violently biassed, vote of the best men in each tribe, and by putting this down as estopping any future litigant of the tribe from controverting it.

We know this may seem pestilent heresy in the case of some in high places. We observe with keen regret that the present movement of authoritative opinion is quite the other way. The policy of the revenue authorities in the Punjab appears to be to depreciate the value of all records of tribal custom, and to narrow as much as may be within its legal limits the influence of the village administration paper. Yet if the question is fairly argued, we do not fear the conclusion. The three possible ways of ascertaining and certifying the popular customs, or, to speak more accurately, the three modes of dealing with popular customs are these. To crystallise them harshly and unsympathisingly into imperial codes. This is the worst of all. To have no code or body of rules whatever but to investigate each case on its merits; to find the custom at the time its authority is first required—the old English idea in fact of judge-made law. This is not so bad as the imperial code, but it is in all conscience bad enough: One suggestive fact in this system is that no one knows what the law is, until it is judicially declared in the particular case. Any one who has known the province for the past twelve years will admit that there are serious drawbacks to this procedure. It was a bon-mot with a somewhat grim edge to it, which was made by a distinguished judge himself, when sitting with his brethren to revise the order of a certain gallant Deputy Commissioner. “After all, gentlemen, “Col——has committed only a modified error—he has in his judgment quoted the last order but one of this court on the subject. He “should of course have taken care to obtain the very last.” We have indeed at times wondered how the judgments of our highest local tribunal could be published month after month, and year after year, without any comment or explanation showing the legal continuity and consistency of idea in the court. To this it is true, there has been one exception, but it was not a happy one; and for the most part the learned judges have not thought it necessary to keep up the chain of precedent. Examples of this are well known, and can be found at large in the Digest of Decisions published at Lahore with the countenance of the Court. The effect of a short study of that book will be a

strong objection in the mind against this irregular, unreliable, heterogeneous mass of practices, growing up into unwieldy proportions without any principle governing its formation, and fitted evidently to increase and foment into extraordinary bitterness the sufficiently antagonistic litigation of the court. The third mode of ascertaining the local custom seems to combine what is good in the other two. By all means let us have finality, but let us have that finality based on popular enquiry. And that popular enquiry, we affirm deliberately, can be made best in the settlement, by means of the discredited procedure of the record of tribal custom. Compare the chances of obtaining the truth in this way, with that of finding the law in a judicial enquiry. In the settlement enquiry no one is specially interested in telling a lie, whereas both parties in court may be. It is the old story of evidence obtained '*ante litem motum*.' In a country where personal evidence is (perhaps sometimes hastily) condemned as worthless whenever the witness has the motive of self-interest, such a difference of circumstances is enormous. The reply that, though no one is interested in telling a lie, no one is interested in the settlement to tell the truth; is worth something, but not very much. The superintending officer is a man generally chosen for ability, or patience, or industry—often for all three—he fully recognises the responsibility of his work; it is not an unsafe hope that he would leave nothing undone, no stone unturned, to secure accuracy. He has moreover the great advantage of making the enquiry in a systematic way; he deals with many points of custom, with many tribes or clans. In this way he obtains an experience which is impossible as an ordinary thing, for the civil judge; he sees the comparative sociology of the subject; he is able, from his knowledge of the district, to appreciate every fact as it turns up in the enquiry, to give it its proper place and value. Then, again, the witnesses who give him his evidence are the best possible; they are the picked men of the whole district; better fitted to assist in the framing of laws for themselves than any others. We repeat that the advantages of circumstance here are overwhelming.

There is, to be sure, one thing wanting to give this procedure complete trustworthiness. The knowledge that its results will be taken for little or no legal value is the one disquieting thought, a source of weakness necessarily. It is impossible for a heavily worked officer to devote uncomplainingly patient hours of investigation in a mal-odorous atmosphere, and often in an intensely hot temperature, to the elucidation of facts which he has reason to suppose will be treated as figments of his own imagination, or at the most as feeble shadows of the truth which will be developed fully hereafter by the superior talents of a tehsildar de-

puted as a 'commission' to make local enquiry. But change the legal status of his procedure; dignify it with the prestige and weight, under ordinary circumstances, not more of presumptive, but of final and conclusive truth; and then the Record of Tribal Custom will be, if not a perfect, yet by far the best practicable authority.

We would use, then, the estoppel of authority; we would say clearly—looking at the enormous evil of allowing these quarrels to start up according to the caprice of individuals, and the vicissitudes of circumstances; we think that some method of obtaining an early finality is necessary; no plan that does not include this can be considered worth hearing. That being so, the best way of obtaining this early finality is not to depreciate, but to elevate and give greater dignity to, the prestige of the Record of Tribal Custom. Give all possible ceremony to the procedure in its formation; do not spare the settlement officer or other special officer deputed to make it. Hold him personally responsible for obtaining the very nearest approach possible to the truth; let his professional 'reputation', 'that last infirmity of noble minds' depend on the success of his difficult work; but, having done this, let it be known that nothing will be listened to against the record thus made. Like the aged ecclesiastic who, when pressed with difficulties and doubts in his creed, could fold his hands, saying 'I fought it all out once, no need to fight again,' secure in the knowledge that the greatest possible care had been already once taken to ascertain the truth, our legislators could well and wisely bar all future doubts and perplexities, by estopping all persons interested from assailing the rules in a court of law. We should indeed have then a local code, or series of local codes, 'known and understood of the people' and securing their utmost respect, for they would have before their eyes displayed in vivid character, the care, and diligence, and research used in drawing them up.

This may seem, as we said before, a startling innovation: but we are confident that the final solution of the problem of customary law will be something like it, the utter inapplicability of other methods will sooner or later make itself felt; the sooner the better, for there is mischief going on now of no inconsiderable kind. It is a merit granted somewhat grudgingly to the Record of Tribal Custom that, if of little good positively, it has a negative value in placing some limits to the, so to say, posthumous inventiveness of interested persons, who fabricate custom according to their particular need. It is difficult to say what does constitute custom in the eyes of judicial tribunals; how many instances are required, and what is the force of silence and inaction. This would be authoritatively stopped by the procedure now proposed. As it is

the evil is in full play. It is a very unsafe thing to say that because judicial precedents have been acquiesced in without appeal, the justice of the decision, or its legality cannot be assailed. Our officers in their service of Themis seem at times like wanderers in a maze; if they arrive at the centre, *i. e.*, the chief court sitting in appeal, there is the chance, even if there is not the certainty, of uniformity and harmony of decision. But if their inspirations remain in the outer-walks; if they only reach the commissioners' courts, they may remain in a variety and a violence of disagreement which is greatly to be regretted. The collective body of judge-made law in this province may indeed well be likened to a maze—a mighty maze and (perhaps) without a plan. The machinery suggested could advantageously deal with all matters of customary law, of social rules as well as of agricultural practices; custom of things and of men alike. Its decisions would be greatly aided by the inert mass of ignorant opinion which is always ready to assent to the positive judgments of authority. On many points there would be found a vacuum in which either reasonable law might be put, or (a great advantage) the knowledge of its existence would of itself be a guard against the intrusion of future pseudo-custom. And we venture to assert with some confidence, when once it was known that the record was to be conclusive, the native mind would gladly acquiesce for the most part in the fact. The zamindar is perplexed with the multitudinous impersonations of of the 'Sirkar'; he understands, and is well content with the paternal authority of a Nicholson, or James, generously and boldly exercised; but he loses his way in the many *cutcherry* passages which lead up to a distant supreme tribunal, beyond which, as from some shadowy land of *ferishtas* or *bhuts*—it is hard to say which idea predominates in his mind—there looms yet another invisible, unknowable origin of authority and order, which, according to a tradition of the more knowing men of the country side, has its impenetrable locale in "Lunnan." This constant idea of instability of his ruler's authority—unstable not by reason of an outward foe—but because one part of the vague personality "Government" appears to have an irresistible propensity to mental difference from another, is doing its work. Whether or not the Punjab is litigious as compared with England, it is clear that the Punjab of 1879 is far more litigious than the Punjab of 1849. We all know the comfort so often and authoritatively put forth, that increase of litigation (especially when it is accompanied by an increase of revenue from stamps) is not a matter altogether to be deplored. It indicates an increased respect for law, and reverence for order, &c. It may be so in part, but it is equally probable that we are by our system of

intricate and long-delayed judicial orders, fostering an artificial, and utterly to be deprecated longing in the people for that worst form of mental dissipation which prostitutes the mission of law and justice to the mere gambling excitement of alternate triumph and defeat in the judicial court. Any thing that will check this is a boon to be set much by ; and among such boons would be the gift of a popular code on all that part of law which is founded on, or modified by, custom. But whether our rulers are persuaded of this ; whether, if persuaded of it, they are not nevertheless too much involved in the vortex of prevailing opinion at home, which, like the voice of the irresponsible democracy at Athens, uses often its power rather than its duty ; whether, even when the best is known, there is courage to choose and hold to it in the face of superior authority, dogmatic but unreasonable ; is a question which will be solved by time—time which in these days marches with quicker step, and quicker consequences. If anything written here could suggest, confirm or take away a doubt, could in fact, however faultily expressed, and perhaps unjustly pointed, have any right influence on those opinions which “make the joy and grief of thousands,” then we should willingly incur the risk of appearing to be pessimists and alarmists ; and should more easily quiet that worse thought, which indeed rarely leaves any but the careless mind, of having seen little, and expressed less.

PUNJABI.

ART. VII.—THE WANTS OF BEHAR.

THE Province of Behar holds a very anomalous position in the administration of the Indian Empire. No tract so distinct in its language, its traditions, the race peculiarities of its people, and the principles of its domestic economy, from customs of land-holding to systems of cultivation, no tract of equal area and population, but is supplied with a local government, possessed of more or less independence of action. Her fate in this respect in the past has not been very dissimilar. Independence, indeed, had been more than hers in periods before the beginning of our Christian era, when south Behar was the governing centre of an empire the most civilised, if not also the most extensive, that Hindu India has known. In Musalman times, except on rare occasions, the subahdâri of Behar was an adjunct of some larger government, and was administered more often from Rajmahal and Murshidabad than from Patna, and frequently, though less often, from some of the great cities of upper Hindustân, Banâres or Jaunpur and even directly from Delhi. Its distinct character, however, as a province was never lost sight of by its rulers, and the English also, when they first began to govern the Lower Provinces by means of those early enactments known as Regulations, wisely incorporated in many of them Behar special rules.

By Behar we mean a geographical tract, defined within very marked boundaries and distinguished by very marked physical characteristics. It consists of a great fertile plain, comprising the valley of the Ganges, from the Himalaya to those most eastern outliers of the Vindhyan range, known as the Rajmahal and Hazaribagh hills. North of the Ganges it is bounded on the east by the Kusi and on the west by the Gandak and Gogra, whilst to the south of the great river it finds its confines in the crescent of hills that, bending northward, abut upon the Ganges at Chunar in the west and Sikrigali in the east.

At the present time Behar, although a vast country, nearly equalling Oudh in area, and thronged with a population exceeding that of the whole Governorship of Bombay, is subject to, and legislated for, by a local administration whose chief charge is the Province of Bengal, which differs from Behar to a degree that is hardly fully appreciated.

The climate of Behar is generally dry and hot, except at the very foot of the Himalayas. In nothing perhaps is the diversity of the two tracts displayed more vividly than in a comparison of

their rainfall at places in the same latitude, and often lying but a hundred or two hundred miles apart. Thus, the rainfall at Bhagulpur in latitude $25^{\circ} 30'$ is 42 inches, which is also very nearly the average of Monghyr and Patna. At Dinajpur, in the same latitude, and 95 miles from Bhagulpur, it is more than 80 inches. In Motihari and Jalpaigori, which are approximately in latitude $26^{\circ} 30'$, the rainfall is 56 and 130 inches respectively. In Gaya and Bogra which both lie a little south of the 25th degree of latitude, rainfalls of 42 inches and 80 inches are respectively registered. Behar is a dry climate in another sense also, that is, in the length of its almost rainless season. Besides the regular dry months from November to April, in which it does not differ conspicuously from Bengal, May and October have much less rain than the same months in Bengal. There is, in fact, no *chhota barsát*, or lesser rains, and there are no north-west storms, which aid early sowings so much in Bengal. The average rainfall of May in Behar is from one inch to one inch and-a-half, whilst in Bengal it varies from four inches in Burdwan to seven inches in Nadiya and Pubna, and even ten inches in Faridpur and Maimansingh. In October, in Behar, the rains cease quite a fortnight to three weeks earlier than in Bengal. These are very marked climatic differences, and result in agricultural peculiarities not less observable. It is true that both Behar and Bengal produce crops bearing the well known descriptions of spring, rain and winter crops, or *rabi*, *bhadai*, and *kharif*, but in Behar, taking one district with another, that is, grouping the rice of Monghyr and the rice of Darbhanga together; the wheat of Patna, the barley of Sarun and the pulse crops of all the districts and, finally, the Indian corn of Champaran, Sarun and Mozafferpur with the marwa of north Bhagulpur, we find that the three crops of the year are very nearly equal one to another; whilst in Bengal the *kharif* is ten times as great as the *rabi* and twenty times more productive than the *bhadai*. In fact Bengal, and, as has been proved by experience, Orissa, are in much greater danger of a wholesale famine resulting from drought, than Behar, inasmuch as, if the rice is lost, there is nothing to replace it. Behar, on the other hand is more liable to recurring periods of scarcity, as her rain-fall—never too abundant—frequently falls short of the amount requisite for all three crops, or is unfavourably distributed, the result being the loss of some one of the crops. It was the inability to perceive these facts that made the relief of the so-called famine of 1874 the fiasco that it was. In the previous year there had been a great failure of the late rain necessary for the rice, and this crop practically entirely failed, but the *bhadai* preceding it had been a fair crop, the result of rain in July and August, whilst the *rabi* of the spring of 1874 was one of the

finest ever reaped in Behar, in consequence of rain in January and February.

When two countries differ so markedly in climatic and agricultural conditions, it may be assumed that they will be found to evince pronounced distinctions in nearly every field of domestic economy. Thus, in regard to tenures and the various forms of land-holding, England and Russia are not more wide apart than Bengal and Behar. In the former province they present a complication unequalled in any other country with which we are acquainted. The young civilian, on landing in Calcutta, is usually first stationed in a Bengal district. Few of his novel sensations are more strong than those which the bewildering string of tenures he finds discussed in every report, and mentioned in every case gives, rise to. He goes to Midnapur and has to learn the distinctions between *kharija* and *mazkuri* *táluks*, *shamilát táluks*, *bazi-asti táluks* and *patni*, *darpatni* and *sepatni táluks*. He hears also of *kamdura* tenures, *panchákí* tenures, *jalpai* tenures, *istimrari jots*, *korfa jots*, *katkinas* and about twenty species of *lakhiraj*. He moves on to Jessor and finds himself confronted by tenure-holders who call themselves *hawáládárs*, *nim-hawáládárs*, *gánthidárs*, *bargaits*, *mat-kadmidars* and the holders of *utbandi* and *rasad karsunya* rights. In Chitagaon he will become acquainted with *tarafs*, *itmáms*, and *noábád táluks*. These are the tenures in a few districts lying on the Bay of Bengal. As he moves northward he will find their number doubled or quadrupled, till he comes to Purneah with its *gáchbandi* tenures, *hálhasli jots*, *chakbandis*, *kulaiti* tenures and *mutabidis*.

In Behar there are in fact only three tenures, the *zemindári*, or estate, the *ticcadári*, or temporary large farm, and the *káshtkári* or permanent small holding. The zamindar, in the meaning of a great absolute proprietor, hardly exists in Bengal. He has made over his rights, half a century or more ago, to a crowd of sub-landlords, who possess all his power and privileges on payment of a fixed quit-rent. In Behar there is no district which does not possess two or more great land-holders of princely wealth who still retain their properties as absolutely under their dominion as any English nobleman. In fact in Behar there is a great landed aristocracy with many of the traditions and some of the tastes of an old nobility. In Bengal this class is wanting, or, where a large land-holder is met with, he is of late origin, or has transferred to others everything that gives a great proprietor social and political influence. In Bengal the possession of land is hardly regarded as the sign of gentility. It is caste that decides social rank. Every Brahmin, Káyasth and Baidya is a gentleman in the native sense, no matter how poor he may be. In Behar on the other

hand, though caste has its religious value, it is landed proprietorship that gives the stamp to a man's position in his district. The Brahmin in Behar is more often a ploughman than a priest, and the Káyasth not unfrequently a tailor, who makes the cloths of the Hindu washerman and stable-boy.

A circumstance intimately connected with the existence and long continuance of great landed proprietors in Behar, is the almost intact condition of the old fiscal divisions of the Musalman times, known as *parganas*. The local history of every Behar district shows that down to the English conquest they were continuous with large estates held under *sanads* of the court of Delhi with proprietary right. Whatever may be the fact in other parts of India, it is beyond all doubt that the statement, so favoured by enemies of the permanent settlement, that the zemindars of the Lower Provinces were only a species of highly developed rent-collectors is, as regards Behar, a fiction of a peculiarly baseless kind. By converse argument on the other hand it may be urged that in Bengal the families with whom the first parganal settlement was made, were early broken up or disappeared. Except in a few instances—and these principally in Western Bengal—the pargana had ceased before the English assumed the direction of the Dewani administration of Bengal, to represent estates, or, indeed, to have any but a kind of archæologic interest. Thus the chief pargana of the Bogra district, Silbarsa, which covers the whole head-quarters police circle, and portions of three other police divisions, includes within its parts, we might say bits, of twenty-five other parganas. The portions of these parganas do not exist in one block in the case of each pargana, but are subdivided in some cases most minutely. One of these parganas, Kasamba, the main portion of which is situated in Rajshahi, is represented by some twenty pieces varying in size from five square miles to a quarter square mile. Indeed, in Eastern Bengal it is not uncommon to find portions of half-a-dozen parganas which include and entirely surround one another like the separate spheres inside the well-known Chinese puzzle, and the solution of the causes of this extraordinary arrangement would be a very much more difficult matter for the historian to unravel, than any that could be presented to the student of curious toys.

A distinction, half social, half political, between Bengal and Behar remains to be noticed. We refer to the existence of a great landless class in Behar which has scarcely any existence in Bengal. Indeed, in Bengal, the land is divided amongst the people in a manner that could not fail to delight a French republican and might even find favour with a moderate communist. The farm labourer, pure and simple, who has no plot of land for his own

cultivation, is almost unknown. The difficulty of hiring labourers is notorious, there being no designation the poor Bengali hates more than that of coolie. He is glad and proud to plough his own field, but nothing will induce him to ply his spade for wages as a road labourer, at least in the district where he was born and is known. This is the case though such wages are exceptionally high and tempting. Occasionally, indeed, a young ploughman will leave his home on some excuse, and make his way secretly to the scene of some large public works, a couple of hundred miles away, where he hopes to remain unrecognized for a few months, and put together twenty or thirty rupees to pay for the expenses of his marriage.

In Behar the multitude of the landless poor is becoming an actual political danger. They number at least one-fifth of the population, or between three and four millions of souls, and are wretched with a poverty that is unequalled in Bengal. Far from objecting to hire, they eagerly grasp at the form of wages that is likely to feed them longest. They far prefer receiving so many bundles of new cut grain for a day's work to the value in money of their labour in the ordinary market. If they can from day to day keep body and soul together by eating the coarsest bread and water, without meat, fish, vegetable or condiment, they are almost satisfied. That their number is increasing, not only at the ordinary rate of the improvident poor, but by additions from other classes, is a fact that is pressing itself on the attention not only of local officials, but, it is believed—and in the hope of a remedy it is hoped,—on the thoughtful consideration of Government. The manner of their increasing in number deserves mention.

It arises in many instances from the following causes. As we have said, the great zamindaris of Behar are nearly all of comparatively great age. Such is not the case with the minor estates, and, in fact, few of them date from before the period of the Permanent Settlement. Acquired in various ways, they remained for the most part during the first quarter of the century in the ownership, or under the direction, of a single individual, to whom the other members of the family could only look for maintenance. On his death, however, the action of the Hindu or Muhamadan law of inheritance replaced him by a number of co-sharers in the property. In this, the first generation, individual rights were in most cases allowed to lie dormant, the coheirs living in commensality together, and the proprietary dominion vesting in the senior member of the family. This state of things, however, rarely outlived the demise of this second patriarch, and the property became broken up into accurately defined shares, usually separately registered as estates on the Government Revenue Roll. A

similar process followed in the third and fourth generations, the latter of which is that most commonly represented by the petty landlords of the present day. It is easy to see that all estates that were originally small, or even of such considerable size as to consist of three or four villages, are now so minutely divided—Beharis being most prolific in the number of their offspring—that the present descendants of the first proprietor cannot live in any comfort on the proceeds of their rents alone. In fact they have become farmers themselves, cultivating their shares of the divided estate as farms by hired labour, and in so doing have evicted the original tenants, who usually have sunk to the wretched condition of day-labourers paid in kind for working on the very land they formerly held with *káshtkárí* rights.

The progress of what, we suppose, would be called more civilized ideas, has also, in the large estates, affected most unhappily the condition of the labouring class, and is rapidly tending to cut off one of its chief sources of regular-employment. It is known that till very lately members of the higher castes, such as Brahmins, Bhuinhars, Rajputs and Káyasths, were allowed to hold farms at very much easier rates than men of low castes, such as Koeris, Goálás and Dosádhs. It is a practice that evoked many a sneer from persons with a due contempt for the caste system and the unpolitico-economic nature of the Hindu. Yet it had its advantages and prevented the whole agricultural population from reaching the common level of rack-rented hinds. More than this, the higher caste man—the gentleman farmer we may call him—not being forced to toil with his own hands, gave continuous employment to two or more poor labourers, who but for it would probably have starved. This good old custom is disappearing in Behar, and the State or Court of Wards management of certain great estates has the credit of giving it its death-stroke,—an example a needy and greedy proprietary has not been slow to imitate. What else was to be expected? Was a worthy Staff Corps military manager with the careful training in Indian agricultural matters which a subaltern in a infantry regiment must necessarily obtain, to be stayed or stopped in his “European” reforms by a worn-out caste prejudice? Was a young doctrinaire civilian, steeped to the lips in the theories of Mill, McCulloch and Fawcett, and tingling to the tips of his fingers with executive zeal, to lose such an opportunity for the development of scientific methods of rent enhancement?

Yet we are not satisfied. The Brahmin digs and delves; the Káyasth has ceased to send his children to school; the Dosadh and his fellows hunger or thieve, and one or two already over-grown rentals are made still more great. Yet more, the distinguished

soldier manager is probably on the high road to a commissioner-ship, and as to the civilian—his financial abilities surely mark him out for the Board of Revenue at least. They had certainly been often enough complimented on their successful management to make them expect some such rewards. We would only ask, is it not more than probable that an experienced native official is the proper incumbent for such appointments?

It is indeed unfortunate that, when Behar is now-a-days mentioned, its name usually calls to mind the fact that one of the most fertile tracts in India has become notorious as the scene of frequent famines, and that its inhabitants, naturally a robust and healthy people, are among the most poverty-stricken and least happy subjects of the empire. This unsatisfactory state of things is attributable to three main causes, the last of which we have already described. These are the rack-renting of their tenantry by the zamindars by means of the short lease ticcadary system, the continuous destruction of the evidence of occupancy rights, and the eviction of the smaller farmers by the lesser landed proprietors.

Before entering into a detailed account of these admitted evils, it may be well to draw attention to the fact that they have been again and again pressed on the notice of Government within the past fifteen years. It is true that they escaped animadversion till the famine of 1866 brought them to the public knowledge with painful distinctness. Bengal herself had been grievously neglected during the second quarter of this century, and, even after the establishment of a separate local Government at Calcutta in 1854, the great central Province of Bengal supplied an amount of executive work which left very little time for the consideration of the affairs of Behar and Orissa. As Sir George Campbell wrote in 1873, "It has been said that in Bengal the rich and powerful have been less restrained, and the poor less protected than in other provinces, and up to that time this was so in the most literal sense of the word. There was in the interior of Bengal a lawlessness and high-handed defiance of authority by people who took the law into their own hands by open violence, which would not have been tolerated for a moment in another part of India. It required all the energies of the first Lieutenant-Governor to deal with these and other patent evils, and it may be said that the Government of the second Lieutenant-Governor was a continued struggle with questions arising out of past lawlessness, and affecting important interests which suffered by the transition from the old-fashioned state of thing to a rule of law and order." These great domestic difficulties existed with at least as much gravity of crime and disorder in Behar; but, above all, the crying misfortune of this province was that in an even more unhappy

degree it was true that the rich and powerful were less restrained, and the poor less protected, than in any other part of the Lower Provinces. The famine of 1866 was a violent awakening; but unfortunately for Behar, the greater calamity that fell upon Orissa, distracted attention from the condition of the northern province, and from the engrained and perennial evils that have long outlived the effects of drought and starvation. Still from this time the feeling first began to take root in the official mind in high quarters that things were not at all well in Behar. Mr. Cockerell's investigation of the causes of the famine, and the study and survey of the country incident to the schemes of irrigation that were soon after set on foot, brought together much valuable information on the state of the peasantry of Behar, which all pointed to the necessity of remedial legislation. Ten years have since passed away; another famine has come to prove the incapability of the people to endure the failure of the crops of a single year; some seven hundred lakhs of rupees have been spent in its relief; officials of every grade have depicted the misery and poverty to which the people of Behar have sunk; non-official warnings also have not been wanting, and yet it cannot be said that anything practically beneficial has been effected.

The evidence before Government in regard to the condition of the Behar peasantry is of the most credible though startling description. It is supplied by commissioners and district magistrates and is repeated even in the resolutions and minutes of successive Lieutenant-Governors. Sir George Campbell made some effort to grapple with the difficulty. He collected accurate information and called for special reports on the subject. Officers were required to give marked attention to the relations of landlord and tenant and the condition of the agricultural classes in their annual administration reports. It was then Sir Stuart Bayley, as Commissioner of the Patna Division, declared that "the traditional oppression ever used towards the ryots is really of the most grinding nature, in many parts." Entering more into particulars, the same distinguished officer added: "Taking the districts south of the Ganges first, I have in the subdivisional officers' reports a series of the strongest and most sensational descriptions of the poverty and misery of the ryot. It is strange to find from the two neighbouring subdivisions of Behar and Nowada similarly strong denunciations of the oppression habitually exercised by the zamindar towards the poorer class of ryot, and of the wretched condition of the latter, when we consider that one of these subdivisional officers is a Bengali Brahmin and the other a Muhamadan of Behar, who speaks of a system with which he must have been familiar from his youth." "A cultivator not in debt," writes a Shahabad officer,

"is viewed with dislike and suspicion, and debt is their common burden. The village landlord or the village *mahajan* knows his investment is a safe one, although his only security is the helplessness of the borrower and his attachment to the soil. So long as this continues, is it reasonable to expect the ryots to devote themselves to the business of cultivation with either zeal or assiduity? Fifty per cent of the cultivators are in debt for grain lent by their landlords, and forty per cent are in debt to *mahajans* for either grain or money. The latter section consists of men of some substance who can command credit, but the former are of the poorer class cultivators, and the grasp of the landlord on them is firm and unrelaxing. The Collector of Sarun adds his testimony thus: "The zamindars, whenever they have a substantial share in a village, are as a rule oppressive, and on the estates of many of the larger zamindars, perhaps, the least consideration for the tenantry is shown." Sir George Campbell himself declared:—"Nowhere have the rents of a peaceable, industrious, and submissive population been more screwed up than in Bhagulpur."

Most of these statements date from 1873, the year before the famine. It is needless to re-capitulate the reports of that period. It might be objected—and in the case of some high officials the objection would certainly have much weight—that the circumstances of the disaster were such as might tempt even the soberest annalist to sensational description and a style of writing that is not unaided by the imagination. There is an order of mind that revels in word-picturings of woe; and fortune, kind or unkind, had assembled in Behar, in 1874, a small army of kindred spirits of this class. Their opinions have been printed, indeed, but still more buried, in the vast heap of blue books that adorned that time. We will not search them out, for there are few sources of information more inaccurate regarding the past or the then present of Behar.

In 1875 the condition of a great estate temporarily managed by the Government drew an unexpected attention on itself. Charges that were grimly particularized were made against the management. The Calcutta *Englishman* announced:—"The absconding of the ryots has become so notorious that the police have been employed to register their flight. During the year 1874-75, in spite of splendid harvests, over 5,000 families have sought refuge from English injustice in the jungles of the Nipálese *Terai*. It is calculated that these 5,000 households, thus abandoned, represent a total number of emigrants not less than 20,000." This statement was not contradicted at the time, and a year later, was confirmed beyond question. A judicial officer of conspicuous ability was deputed to enquire into the disorder. His report is one of the most lucid and able papers of its kind that has ever been sub-

mitted to the Government of Bengal, and, is besides, a noble testimony to that healthy independence of character that marks so many members of the Indian Civil Service, and which, to their credit, the Governments of India and Bengal have often treated with respect and favour. "Quite apart," Mr. Geddes wrote, "from the failure of the crop, in travelling there"—the Darbhanga property—"one had a feeling sometimes of desolateness, from the fewness of people to be met on the road, or to be seen on the *maidans* (plains.) The villages were few. The mile-stones on one of the principal frontier roads seemed almost a mockery. We were so much struck with the scantiness of population that in the absence of people enough to ask about it, we began speculating to ourselves as to the cause why old fields should have been abandoned, why good wastes should not have been reclaimed. I have further to submit, that the anxiety among the population of these parganas, as I understood their feelings, was about impending ruin rather than impending starvation. It is true they talked of famine and death, but this was, for the most part, but a prelude to the *invariable tale of oppression and rack-renting*. I watched them carefully—their expression, their demeanour, the subjects up to which they led the conversation—and the above was the conclusion that I came to." Any remarks of ours on statements like these would be only calculated to weaken their effect, and such is not our object. It is, however, to be noticed that Sir R. Temple in commenting on them admitted that "undoubtedly the condition of the peasantry is low in Behar—lower than that of any other peasantry, with equal natural advantages, in any province in which Sir Richard Temple has been in India."

There was associated with Mr. Geddes in this enquiry another officer, distinguished by his kindly sympathy with the difficulties of the people, and who, as executive chief of a great Behar district, had been entrusted by Government with the compilation of a detailed report on the "Food Supply of Behar." His explanation of the misery he found, is thus moderately expressed: "I attribute," Mr. MacDonnell writes, "this unsatisfactory state of things in a very large degree to insecurity of tenure and to the high rates of rent which prevail, and these high rates of rent are due, in my opinion, less to the ordinary working of economic laws than to the mischievous system of farming out estates and villages which also largely prevails."

"A proprietor in immediate want of money, or disinclined to perform by his property those duties which are correlative to his rights, assigns to a middleman the right of collecting and appropriating the rents payable by the ryots, on consideration of the present payment of a bonus (*salâmi*) and a future periodical pay-

ment of rent, not always less than what the proprietor had managed to collect directly. The farmer, or ticcadar, as he is called in the vernacular, having no interest in the permanent well-being of the estate, has to recover within a stated time (usually nine years) the bonus, the rent he pays, and a profit. He enhances the ryot's rent, not always by the expensive method of an appeal to the courts. The ryots have thus to contend with the farmers, backed up by the zemindar, and in those parts of Tirhoot which, till recent changes, were under-officered, and therefore under-administered, the ryot always was worsted in the struggle. He paid enhanced rent while the seasons were good; when a bad one came, he paid it by borrowing, or avoided payment by absconding. I do not of course say that all ticcadars act, or have acted, as stated above; there are doubtless exceptions, but the rule is, I believe, as I have stated, and the result is that ticcadar is not a word of good omen to the ryot in Tirhoot. There can be no doubt the system is radically and essentially bad, and should be discouraged, discreetly, it is true, but still with all the power of the administration." These sentences were written in 1876.

In 1877 Sir Ashley Eden assumed the direction of the public affairs of Bengal, and, within the first twelve months of his government, we meet with sentences like the following in the Resolutions issuing from his secretariat:—"In the present report of the Commissioner of the Bhagulpur division, a lamentable account is given by the subdivisional officer of the state of things in the Banka subdivision, two-thirds of which are leased out in farms to non-resident speculators, while in the remaining one-third at least half of the landlords are also non-resident. The farms run usually for seven years, and are only renewed on the payment of a heavy and increasing premium, which falls entirely on the ryots. The tenants are said to have no rights, to be subject to the exaction of forced labour, to illegal distraint and to numerous illegal cesses, while the collections are made by an unscrupulous host of up-country peadahs." "The majority of the zamindars in Tirhoot are unfavourably mentioned, being described as grasping and oppressive to their tenantry." "There can be no doubt whatever that the combined influence of zamindars and ticcadars has ground the ryots of Behar down to a state of extreme depression and misery." The Lieutenant-Governor himself, in discussing the question of indigo planting in Behar, after pointing out the peculiar fertility of the country, with its triple crops of spring, autumn and summer, its immunity from floods and its facilities for irrigation, asked why the Behar peasant should be so much inferior in comfort and independence to his Bengal fellow. He did not fail to find its true answer, in stigmatising the ticcadari system as the "curse of Behar."

It seems to us that when Government so fully appreciates where the root of the evil lies, it should direct its attention to its extirpation. It is true that the hands of the Government of Bengal are very much tied in this matter, as the Government of India has distinctly warned the Bengal Council that in land legislation interference with the existing order of things should be the least radical possible; yet nothing but radical change can be of any avail. Surely a system which is acknowledged to be a curse to a country is hardly entitled to such delicate manipulation. In 1877 all that the Government of Bengal was prepared to suggest in amelioration of the present state of things, was an improved system of accounts by village patwaries, together with the enforcement of the delivery of leases. We certainly do not place much confidence in the first proposal. The patwari in Bahar has degenerated into a kind of pettifogging scrivener, with a minimum of conscience and honesty. He is often a connection of the ticcadar, almost always his caste fellow, and is himself an embryo ticcadar, whose best hope of success in life depends on his doing the ticcadar's dirty work, receiving in reward some day a small share in the ticca, on which to begin the system of speculations and oppression which, after the payment of his ticcadari rent to his landlord in chief, affords to the ticcadar his only, but still often very remunerative, emoluments.

The second proposal, that of enforcing the granting of leases, may mean much or little, or rather very much or very little, according to the number of years for which they are granted. It might confer fixity of tenure, or we can conceive it being used to oust, after a brief time, a tenant who had held the same land for half-a-century. Within our own experience we have known Irish tenants, whose grandfathers' grandfathers had lived on the same plot before them, solemnly presented with a lease for two or three years and then turned out at the end of that time. The Behar peasantry are fortunately less gullible. We lately heard of a case in which a zamindar petitioned a magistrate to force his ryots to take leases from him. On enquiry it was discovered that the leases were to be for a short period of five to seven years, but the ryots would have nothing to do with them, simply asserting that they had been forty to fifty years in possession of their farms and did not want leases.

As a matter of fact Behar has no land-law. Act X of 1859 and Act VIII of 1869, suit Bengal and Bengal only. In Bengal, as we may say in Ireland, the classes interested in the land are only two, the landlords and the tenants. It is true that there is much sub-infeudation, but this really means merely a transference of zemindari power to a sub-landlord for ever, or for a

lengthened period. In Behar, as in England, there is a third class to consider—the ticcadars—who may roughly be compared to the English farmers of the Midland counties. We do not wish to establish any comparison between home and Indian landed relations, but merely to point out that at home, as here, very different conditions of land-holding obtain under the same Government. It is notorious that they have been separately dealt with.

The land-law we now possess in the Lower Provinces does not contemplate the extraordinary condition of things we have in Behar ; a wealthy and very limited landed aristocracy, an intermediate class of large farmers on extremely short leases—a class entirely unrecognized by the law—and an enormous proletariat of tenants, whose rights are entirely unrecorded and almost unknown.

We would venture to offer the following considerations in connection with legislation on this subject. The landlords of Behar have been peculiarly fortunate in their assessments to Government revenue. Their estates contain in the round double the reclaimed waste that those of Bengal do. In this reclamation they have had no part, and on the other hand they have been ten times harder masters to their tenants than those of Bengal. A land-law for Behar need not be too squeamish about what are called “proprietary rights in land,” though we certainly would give the landlords what are their just dues. Their position in regard to the State has been fixed by the permanent settlement, which I consider as binding a contract as was ever made by a Government with a class of its subjects. What the real relations of zamindar and ryot were intended to be by its authors, has never been described more plainly and authoritatively than by Sir George Campbell in 1873. “Although,” he wrote, “at the time of the permanent settlement the collection of the land revenue was made over to the zamindars, and certain proprietary rights were assured to them, still, as the Lieutenant-Governor has several times had occasion to point out, nothing was further from the intentions and acts of the Governments of Lord Cornwallis and his immediate successors than to bestow on the zamindars an absolute property in the English sense, or to “abstain from interference between landlord and tenant” according to the phraseology of more modern days. This much any one who will take the trouble to read the Regulations of 1793 and the following years may see for himself. Those early Regulations were most careful in their provisions for restraining the zamindars and protecting the ryots. The zamindars were prohibited from ousting the ryots or from taking rents in excess of the rates established by custom for each local division or pargana. They were bound

to maintain the village accountant, or putwari, and to file full accounts of their demands and collections with the canungoes or superior accountants and record-keepers of subdivisions under the collector, who was thus to have complete information of all revenue affairs and easy means of reference in regard to all questions of rent rates, &c. A general power of interference on behalf of the ryots was reserved by express enactment." "It may be said" he continues "that while there has been a general tendency much to insist upon, and indeed exaggerate, the rights and privileges conferred on land-holders by the permanent settlement, there has been at the same an equal disposition to forget, evade, and ignore the terms, conditions, and obligations attached to those rights and privileges by the very Regulations which conferred or confirmed them. The idea of property has become stronger and stronger, and the idea of obligation attached to the functions of land-holder has become weaker and weaker. It may be said that every point about which there could be any doubt has been allowed to settle itself in favour of the land-holder and against the public."

The great contract of the permanent settlement, if reduced to its ultimate meaning, contains a single provision and a single stipulation. It was definitely promised in language of infinite plainness that the public demand in land revenue would never be increased, and on the other hand it was as solemnly stipulated that the land-holders in chief should be good landlords and further the prosperity of their tenantry. That the stipulation has been absolutely disregarded seems to us no reason why the anterior promise should be broken. A legislating Government should not adopt excuses, however plausible, for breaking its own laws, but should rather enforce them. The contrary seems to have been the course pursued. We consider the late legislation on the Road-cess, Public Works and Irrigation cesses to be a breach of the State half of the contract, the only excuse for which has been the fact that the second contracting party had previously disregarded its share of the agreement. That this was the best policy, we very much doubt. We believe that Government should have enforced that solemn pledge to the peasantry of Bengal and Behar with a rigour co-ordinate with its strictness in recovering arrears of revenue. Had it done so, instead of letting things slide, there would have been no need of introducing new and irritating land taxes of disputed justice. We should have had a wealthy farmer class—not a mass of greedy ticcadars—who would be able safely to bear a greater indirect taxation. We are not sure that the time for this policy is yet past. A radical attempt should at length be made to place the peasantry in the position that they were intended to hold by the legislators of 1793, by

giving them fixity of tenure straight off and by curtailing the zamindar's power of setting up his property in lots, in order to his tenantry being exploited every five or nine years by a new tribe of needy middlemen. To suggest that no ticca should be of shorter duration than fifteen years, may seem a frightful interference with the sacred rights of property, but we cannot see that it is less just than a law to reduce the hours of labour in a cotton manufactory. All legislation means the curtailing of somebody's power, in some direction, for the benefit of the majority. We think the time has come in Behar to do something thorough, if we do not wish to face a dozen famines in the next half century, with perhaps a Jacquerie to wind up with.

The Earl of Beaconsfield, in his novel of "Coningsby," holds up to merited derision the old pre-reform Conservative government, "under whose genial influence the order of the peasantry, 'a country's pride,' has vanished from the face of the land and is succeeded by a race of serfs, who are called labourers, and who burn ricks" It might be an interesting question whether a vernacular newspaper that translated this passage with special application to the present condition of affairs in the Bombay Presidency would render itself liable to State prosecution under the Press Act. It is a point we gladly leave to the lawyers to decide, taking advantage ourselves of the liberty still left to the English language in India, to ask in what does the degradation of the Behar peasant differ from this description, except in his patient submission to wrongs that would have driven any European nation not only to arson but to open revolt a decade or two ago. The temptation to write vigorously is very strong upon us, but fortunately we may escape the blame of violence of language of our own in adopting that of an English journal, which, though generally regarded as devoted to the interests of Government, has proved in the sentences we are about to quote that it is capable of independent criticism of the most trenchant kind. The *Pioneer*, in 1877, felt, as we feel now, in regard to Behar, that any further cloaking of the facts of agrarian discontent in Bombay fell not far short of the act of a disloyal citizen, and that it was wise and honorable and just to tell the truth and the whole truth. It wrote:—

"Worried by the revenue survey for heavily enhanced public payments, enslaved by his private creditor, dragged into court only to have imposed upon him the intolerable burden of fresh decrees, without even the resource of flight which was open to his forefathers, before the kindred scourge of Holkar, the Deccan ryot accepted, for the third of a century, with characteristic patience and silence, the yoke of British misgovernment. For thirty years,

as we now learn from the papers published by the Committee, he had been at once the scandal and the anxiety of his masters. Report upon report had been written upon him; shelf upon shelf in the public offices groaned under the story of his wrongs. If any one doubts the naked accuracy of these words, let him dip into the pages of Appendix A. A more damning indictment was never recorded against a civilised Government. From 1844 to 1874 successive administrations have been appealed to, have been warned, or have been urged. Each, in its turn, has replied, as the present will doubtless answer to the late Committee's importunities, with a suave sigh of *non possumus*. The hospitalities of Dapoorree or Ganeshkhind have for thirty years been lavished in graceful and generous profusion, while the ryot, (who paid for them), lay hard by in enforced and ruinous idleness, a debtor in the Poona jail; or ate at their gates, in the field of which the fruits had once been his own, the bitter bread of slavery.

So the survey officers came and went, adding each his thousands and tens of thousands to the public assessments. Marwaris swarmed up, in ever-increasing flights, from the far north-west, and settled down on the devoted acres. Honourable justices visited India, to carry off after a while to their homes, also, some trifle from the ryot's hands, leaving him in exchange their precedents and their rulings; leaving also, in a thousand desolate homesteads, a monument, to those who sought it, of the wisdom of the system over which—(always of course at the ryot's expense)—it had been their pleasure to preside. Decrees of the courts flew like arrow-flights into the thickest of the population, striking down the tallest and the most notable. Stupidity, blindness, indifference, greed,—inability, in a word, in all its thousand forms,—settled down, like the fabled harpies, on the ryot's bread, and bore off with them all that he subsisted upon. Then, at last, in spite of his marvellous forbearance, Jacques Bonhomme could stand it no longer. Long-suffering in every land, the patience in India of the *misera contribuens plebs*, is especially proverbial. Conversely, in India of all other countries, are agricultural movements dangerous. But even then, in that supreme moment Jacques behaved with the forbearance, while he showed the sineys, of a giant. "In reviewing the character of the disturbances generally," write the Committee, "the most remarkable feature presented is the small amount of serious crime..... The chief cause of the moderation shown is doubtless the naturally law-abiding spirit of the Kumbi peasantry. It is so far from their natural tendency to resort to physical force, that the fact of their having done so is advanced generally by the officers of the disturbed districts as a proof of the reality of their grievances." Or, as a

more eminent authority, (Sir George Wingate,) put it, in another way, and on a former but similar occasion; "what must be the state of things which can compel cultivators, proverbially patient and long-suffering, accustomed to more or less of ill-usage and injustice, at all times, to redress their wrongs by murder, and in defiance of an ignominious death to themselves? How must their sense of justice have been violated? How must they have been bereft of all hope of redress from law or Government before their patient and peaceful natures could be roused to the point of desperation required for such a deed?" It is difficult to read these sentences without something like a curse on the system of *laissez aller* which drove the Kumbi from his fields to his only effective form of argument; without something like fiery anger at the Government which has replied, once and for all, to his pleading, by thrusting him into a jail; which, after the lapse of nearly two years, intends, apparently, again as on previous occasions, to push him into the back-ground, and to turn from the contemplation of its subjects' ruin and its own exposure to more congenial subjects. This feeling, and the language in which it clothes itself, may seem to the careless too strong for the occasion; and to the careless we are content that it should seem so. But to any who have taken the trouble to read the Poona record, no language can seem too plain. Plain speaking is the more necessary, because, in his efforts to get a hearing, the ryot finds himself confronted by the most uncompromising opponents.

For land revenue surveyors substitute the collectors of road-cess, and public-works-cess, and house-cess, and chankidari cess, and embankment-cess, and license-tax; for Marwari usurer write ticcadari rack-renter, and one will find that the people of Behar have progressed along at least three-fourths of the sad and weary road that has led the Bombay cultivator to riot and disorder.

A still graver question remains. Is amelioration and reform to be left to a "new generation" of legislators, to some young Anglo-Indian party, to work out. We have hopes that the present time or the near future will produce the needful measures. The belief is very strong in India that the Government of Sir Ashley Eden is not wanting in sympathy with the people, with whose government it is entrusted, and we share that belief. We have on desire in what we have written, but to strengthen the hands of the existing administration by rousing public opinion to its aid. Whatever doubts we feel, attach rather to those higher authorities who have sacrificed the one fund over-taxed India painfully contributed for the alleviation of the miseries of the peasant poor to the exigencies of a wasteful war. A loan—anything were better than this.

It is known that a new land-bill for Bengal is being prepared at the present hour by two civilians of distinguished legal reputation. We would venture to hope that in their labours Mr. O' Kinealy and Dr. Field may not forget that sound land legislation is not a thing of theory, but must be instinct with the characteristics of the country, for which it is intended. The memories of their own mother-land may recall to their minds another peasantry, one of the most favoured in the world by nature and by God; driven from their homes in millions by a foreign and uncongenial land-law. It may also remind them, that in India emigration opens no haven of rest to the oppressed tenant and that unsuccessful land legislation in Bengal must bring to him not exile but very death. The responsibility is a grave one.

Whether the new law is to extend to Behar, or not, is a matter on which there has been no distinct pronouncement by Government; and here we may confess that our main object in writing these pages is to deprecate such a possibility. Behar must have a land-law of her own. We have attempted, briefly, to sketch some of the chief differences between landed relations in Bengal and Behar. One consideration more remains, of still greater weight than any we have before advanced. The tenantry of Bengal is so strong in its rights that the most prominent agrarian difficulty at the present day—and it is one that has openly manifested itself more than once—is that the farmers may learn to combine and withhold even their lawful dues. It is a difficulty Government has been loudly called on to remedy. In doing so, however, the legislature must be chary how it affords further powers to the landlords. They are powers easily misused, and as Behar proves, may give birth to evils graver than any Bengal now suffers from. There is, at the same time, we hope, a safeguard in the intelligence of the proprietary class and its advisers in Bengal. They have usually treated their tenantry with much consideration, and the most powerful representative of their interests, the British Indian Association, has never made a demand for land legislation which was not founded in justice. Knowing what the zemindars of Behar and the middlemen to whom they have consigned their tenantry, really are, surely Government will hesitate before it arms them with still sharper weapons to be infallibly used to the detriment of the farmer class.

What the solution of the land question of Behar should be, is a matter that we feel it would be almost temerity to attempt even roughly to sketch out at the present time. We can but indicate here the executive measures that should precede legislative action and aid it by the collection of the necessary information and statistics. The time has come for the distinct recognition of Behar.

as a separate integral province, administered by a separate local Government. The time has come for the appointment of a Chief Commissioner of Behar with powers and a salary, such as will secure the best administrative talent at the disposal of the Government. Behar is now divided between two commissionerships, not very important offices, which, though occasionally filled by officers of ability, are more often, in consequence of the healthy and pleasant nature of the climate, the object of a patronage, directed—as a member of Parliament lately remarked—“by secret and not always masculine influences.” Their abolition and replacement by the higher office would represent, financially, rather a saving than a loss.

It is not our intention to suggest that Behar should be entirely withdrawn from the Government of Bengal. We are of opinion that Behar, Assam, Orissa and Chhota Nagpur should hold to the Government and Legislative Council of Bengal a relation similar in its kind to that which subordinates the provincial administrations to the Government of India and the Supreme Council. Each of these lesser provinces should be represented in the Calcutta Council by a single member, except in the case of Behar, which might fairly claim two representatives. We would preserve the chief commissionership of Assam and the commissionerships of Orissa and Chhota Nagpur. With these great deductions from the area of its immediate executive supervision we would hope that the Government of Bengal might be equal to the regulation of that province without the intervention of commissioners between district administrators and the Calcutta Secretariat. Bengal is now so opened up by railways and other means of rapid communication that the whole of Bengal Proper ought to be supervised with facility from Calcutta, and the great salaries of her five commissioners saved to the revenue. We have not forgotten the out-of-the-way position of Chittagong and recognize the probable necessity of maintaining there a minor controlling authority. Perhaps, also, it might be expedient to strengthen somewhat the Secretariat staffs of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Board of Revenue, but the expenditure in this direction would hardly exceed the income of a single commissioner. We have no doubt but that such changes would result in greater efficiency, greater despatch in the movements of Government measures, besides to the State pecuniary advantage.

To return to Behar, it must also be borne in mind that there are some half-dozen questions besides those relating to the land, which require immediate and careful attention. The poppy-crop, on which the great opium revenue depends has, to the great

injury of both the ryots and the public, failed through blight over large tracts in the districts north of the Ganges during the past two years. It is notorious that the disease is propagated by the seed of the blighted plant, and this opinion has been lately endorsed by the experts of the department. Yet we are most credibly informed, that an indent for a few thousand rupees worth of seed from the cis-Gangetic districts has been rejected by the Board of Revenue, or in other words by the member of it in charge of the opium department, an official at the present time of purely Bengal experience. There are several other points connected with poppy cultivation which deserve notice. In the last issue of this *Review* we drew attention to the possibility of a great system of cheap well irrigation—the form of irrigation peculiarly indigenous to the country—being developed under the direction of opium officers. The establishment of the occupancy rights of poppy cultivators from the records of the sub-agency offices is a matter that would repay investigation.

In Behar also great schemes of canal irrigation are being brought to the test of practical utility on rivers having their rise both in the Himalaya and in the southern hills, and on principles as diverse as two projects seeking the same object can possibly permit of. Few who have seen the great high-level canals of Shahabad with their vast expenditure can believe that the water-supply of Sarun is being attempted, and probably with success, for a few lakhs of rupees and by means of the existing river-beds. South Bhagalpur is commanded over many hundred square miles by the river Chāndan and the time must come when its irrigative capabilities will be availed of. The great rice plains of Darbhanga and west Monghyr cannot be allowed much longer to remain unprotected from a most uncertain rain-fall whilst the abundant waters of the Halubar and Kúsi flow by them to the sea. Behar is, in fact, the land of irrigation and irrigative possibilities and projects, and demands the responsible supervision of high administrative abilities in this as in many other respects. We might say on the other hand that Bengal is the land of floods and drainage necessities.

The indigo difficulty in Behar is one that is far from being solved. At the same time it is a question of such intricacy, is so overlaid by misapprehension and misstatement, and its discussion has been so warped by passion, that it requires the greatest temper and unusual tact to insist on and yet direct the reforms, that though hardly now begun, are becoming every day more necessary and more urgent. Indigo affairs are also so bound up with the ticcadari system, supplying, indeed, some of the worst exemplifications of the mischief it can do, that no land legislation

can hope for success in Behar, which does not take notice of the existence of this industry—a fact, which we need scarcely add, is another reason for a special land-law for Behar.

The *chaukidari*-cess of three rupees a month on villages containing sixty houses for the pay of each rural policeman, which Act VI. of 1870 made common to Bengal and Behar is, we regret to say, an impost unsuited to the latter province and which is everywhere in Behar resisted with dogged hostility. The basis of the difficulty is that the Act, the product of a purely Bengal Council, fixes a salary assessed according to the comparatively affluent circumstances of Bengal villagers, and is thereby oppressive to the poverty-stricken people of Behar, where formerly a *chaukidar* received only nine to twelve rupees a year, besides a few bushels of grain at harvest time from the principal villagers for watching their threshing-floors and corn-stacks. The tax then fell on the well-to-do, and on the village proprietor. Now the poorest of the poor are forced to contribute a share, and often a disproportionately large one. The new law has caused deep discontent, and Behar officials unite with an unbroken cordiality and unanimity in condemning it.

Turning to what was once one of the greatest and most characteristic industries of Behar, it is not too much to say that the manufacture of saltpetre, which attracted to itself even European capital, is sorely stricken, and may in time disappear under the harassments of a system of rules, which certainly are so little the offspring of Behar experience as to receive from every official authority in the country nothing but the most unfavourable criticism.

Behar, again, still continues the home of the village community. It is true that the old communal system has been greatly broken in on by the progress of portions of our legislation, but it exists, and only requires the close and constant supervision that a local administration can give to grow into new life. The village would then become an executive unit, and its importance in this character, as a means of resisting and relieving the attacks of scarcity and famine, the most common and dreaded domestic disorder of Behar, is beyond doubt.

We might easily multiply the number of topics, in which solutions distinctly based on the facts of Behar experience are desirable, but we shall be abundantly satisfied if we have shown that this province is in immediate want of special legislation on the one all-important subject of the land and the relations of the classes interested in it.

ART. VIII.—AFGHANISTAN AND THE AFGHANS.

Afghanistan and the Afghans, being a brief review of the History of the Country and account of its People with special reference to the Present Crisis, and War with Amir Shere Ali Khan. By H. W. Bellew, C. S. I. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.

IT is quite impossible for Dr. Bellew to write anything about Afghanistan that shall not be interesting. His acquaintance with the subject is so great, and founded upon such a wide and varied personal experience, as to invest his utterances with an authority which no other writer can venture to claim with equal justice. If any man could give English readers a picture of Afghan life and manners, and a standard history of a people who are now intruded permanently into the field of Indian politics, it is the man who has traversed the country in all directions, who is familiar with its language, and an authority upon its literature. Dr. Bellew's qualifications indeed are so pre-eminent, and well known, that most people will feel surprise that he has not ere this attempted to occupy a field which appears to await his exertions, and in which he could scarcely hope to find a rival. Exceptional knowledge entails upon its possessor a responsibility towards his countrymen which Dr. Bellew does not appear to realise. He might have furnished us with a standard work; he has given us only a *brochure*. His "Afghanistan and the Afghans" has been written for an ephemeral purpose and with a view to affect the policy of the hour. It will have but little permanent value. Even for the purpose for which it was written it will, to a certain extent, be a failure, for it makes the writer's own personal views too prominent, and affords too little material for the formation of a popular judgment by the public; and yet it is perhaps the most valuable contribution yet made to a subject little known and little thought about. It presents us with the picture of the Afghan of to-day as he is, and breaks up the prevailing idea that the territory of the Afghan ruler is populated by a multitude of tribes, homogeneous in race, language, and religion. But we confess to a feeling of disappointment; a writer who in the hurry and carelessness of a pamphlet,—not that a pamphlet is necessarily a careless production—could do so much, ought to do more. It is due to Dr. Bellew's reputation that he efface his present *brochure* by a substantial contribution to the literature of a question in which for the future all Englishmen, and especially all Anglo-Indians must take an abiding interest.

Having accused Dr. Bellew of carelessness, we shall now proceed to make good our accusation. He tells us that "during the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the empire of the Mughal in India, and that of the Saffavi in Persia were both in a like state of disorder and fast falling to decay, the Afghans made repeated attempts to throw off the yoke of the Mughal, and in the course of their rebellion the western tribes, up to Kandahar, fell under the rule of the Saffavi. This, however, was only for a brief interval, which ended in the Afghans turning the tables upon their new masters, and destroying their dynasty by the invasion of Persia and sack of Ispahan under the Ghilzai leader, Mir Wais of Kandahar."

The Persians finally took Kandahar from the Mughals in 1642, and it was not till 1722 that the Afghans entered Ispahan as conquerors. They did not take the city by storm, nor did they sack it, but after a terrible siege of eight months the Persian monarch, Shah Hossein, surrendered his capital and abdicated his throne in favor of Mahmoud Khan, the Afghan leader. This Mahmoud was the son of Mir Wais, the man who first attempted to raise the Afghans into a powerful military kingdom. Mahmoud entered the city three days after the capitulation, in royal state, and it was not till after he had received peaceable possession of the arsenals and other points that he gave the order for the massacre of all the Persian soldiers in the city. Mir Wais had been dead seven years when his son became monarch of Persia.

If there be a figure in all Afghan records which stands out prominently it is that of Ahmed Shah Abdalli, the man who succeeded, where Mir Mahmoud and Mir Ashraf failed, and whose glory dwarfs that of Mir Wais, who would otherwise be recognised as one of the most remarkable characters of Central Asian history. The man who knit together, even if loosely, the Afghan kingdom, and whose work has remained, though torn and defaced, to our own day; the soldier who conquered at Paniput, and dissolved into ruins the growing empire of the Mahrattas; this man we should have thought would have received full justice at Dr. Bellew's hands. But to let him speak for himself:—"Nadir Shah was assassinated in his camp just as he reached the borders of his native country, and the bulk of his spoil of India fell into the hands of an Afghan general of cavalry, who had joined his standard with a contingent of ten thousand horse at the outset of his Indian campaign. This fortunate man was Sardar Ahmad Khan, of the Saddazai section of the Abdali tribe of Afghans. At the time of Nadir's assassination he was present in the camp with the rest of the conqueror's court, but a strong detachment of his troops was on escort duty with the treasure party march-

ing up some way in rear of the main army ; and on the fact of Nadir's death becoming known, he slipped away from the camp with a few followers and immediately betook himself to Kandahar, in the vicinity of which city and in the midst of his own people he came upon the escort with the treasure.

Ahmad Khan appropriated the treasure, and with its vast and varied stores at his disposal, had no difficulty in purchasing the good-will and allegiance, not only of his own clansmen, but of all the other Afghans, and the neighbouring Balooch chief, as well, and this done, he had himself crowned king of the Durrani, with the title Ahmad Shah Durri Durrani."

This places the character and purposes of Ahmed Shah in the most contemptible light. It so happens, however, that he was not commander of the Afghan contingent under Nadir Shah. That body, of above 12,000 men, distinguished throughout the army for their devotion to their great leader, was commanded by Noor Mahommed Khan, Alizai, and Hadji Djemal Khan, Mohammedzai, an ancestor of Amir Shere Ali. Ahmed Shah was not the principal chief, nor did he leave a detachment of his troops to bring up a convoy of treasure. Even the Persians admit that the Afghan troops tried to revenge the assassination of Nadir Shah, and that they were defeated and driven from the camp. They returned to Kandahar, when, having nothing to bind them to the Persian throne, and plainly foreseeing that with the fall of Nadir the power of that kingdom must also fall, they set themselves to the task of creating a kingdom of their own. It was not until after Ahmed Shah had been elected king, that Yaghi Khan Sherazi arrived at Kandahar with the treasure. This officer had been Nadir's chief of the customs in Sindh and the Punjab, and had with him treasures valued at more than a million sterling. It was this treasure which Ahmed Shah appropriated and with which he laid the foundations of his new power.

Dr Bellew is equally at fault when he deals with the history of Russia in Central Asia. He tells us that "by 1854 when Kandahar was added to Kabul, the Russians had taken up positions at Ak Masjid and Almati, or Vernui, and by the time that Herat was recovered to Kabul, the Russians were closing up the line between their advanced posts and completed the operation by the capture of Tashkend in 1864."

Ak Masjid was occupied in 1852 ; surely the doctor remembers the couplet :—

Paye tarikh kami, lashkar-i-kafir bigiriftah
Hisar-i-ak Masjid ra ke sozad ek Jahan goyam

which, according to the Abzad, gives the date of the capture as 1269, Hejira. Almati was occupied without opposition in 1271.

Hejira—that is in 1854—and it was only in this year that the scheme for connecting and closing the frontier by forts was approved of at St. Petersburg. It is almost needless to add that that scheme was effectually delayed by the occurrence of the Crimean war. But then it had nothing to do with the occupation of Tashkend. It was not until the advance on Turkistan had been resumed that General Tcherniaieff marched upon Tashkend.

That general's report, dated 17th-29th June 1865, says, "during the night of the 14-15th June the town and citadel of Tashkend was taken by storm by means of scaling ladders..... The occupation of Tashkend has given us a position in Central Asia, commensurate with the interest of the Empire and the power of the Russian nation." It is not only the dates which are wrong, but the sequence of events is lost, so that any one trusting to the hurried jottings of Dr. Bellew would be very apt to acquire a wholly false conception of the connection between the different events which he groups together in a single passage.

A special example of this occurs when he comes to deal with the civil war out of which Ameer Shere Ali emerged victorious as Ameer of all Afghanistan.

Dr. Bellew states, that Afzul Khan died on 7th October 1867, and was succeeded by his brother, Muhammed Azim, as Ameer. "Shere Ali in the meantime, after two unsuccessful attempts to recover his throne from Kandahar, and hopeless of aid from the British, proceeded to Herat and sought the help of Persia. Returning from this to Kandahar, he organised a force and made another effort to regain Kabul, but was signally defeated in a decisive battle fought near Kalat-i-Ghilzi on the 22nd January 1867. In this battle he lost his favorite son, Muhammad Ali, a youth of remarkable talents and great promise. He was killed in single combat by his uncle Muhammed Amin Khan, full brother of Shere Ali, who was himself then cut down by the attendant soldiers."

One pauses in amazement at the number of errors in this passage. It would not, in fact, be easy to crowd more mistakes into so small a space. One does not know where to begin in correcting such a jumble. But we must attempt it. Ameer Dost Muhammed died at Herat on the 9th June 1863, and was succeeded by his son Shere Ali Khan. The new Ameer found himself surrounded by a numerous family of brothers, who all envied him his selection as heir to the throne, and all determined, if opportunity offered, to advance their own pretensions. The most prominent of these royal plotters were Sardar Amin Khan, aged 34, full brother of the new Ameer, Governor of

Kandahar, and his half-brothers, Sardar Mahommed Afzal Khan, aged 52, Governor of the Turkistan and Balkh provinces, which he had conquered for his father; Sardar Mahommed Azim Khan, full brother of Sardar Mahommed Afzal Khan, aged 45, Governor of Koorum. From the first the most bitter of the fraternal quarrels of the Ameer was that between himself and his full brother Amin Khan, but the most threatening was that between him and the two brothers, sons of the Bungash wife of Dost Mahommed, who ruled, one at Balkh and the other in the fertile and important valley of Koorum. The most formidable of Shere Ali's rivals was the chief of Turkistan. It was not till the 9th September 1863, that the Ameer entered Cabul; on the 4th December he received the congratulations of the British Government on his accession, and at the end of March 1864 received at Cabul an envoy from the Shah of Persia, to whom he showed marked favor, but from whom he did not demand any assistance. The spring of this year, 1864, was spent in preparing for civil war, and in the summer the forces of Afzal Khan moved southward on Cabul, and the Ameer marched to meet them. Then followed a desultory campaign, in which the advantage remained clearly with Shere Ali, and on the 29th June a reconciliation took place between the brothers. This, in effect, amounted to the submission of Afzal Khan, who thenceforth remained under honorable surveillance in the Ameer's camp. Shere Ali marched northwards, occupying the country, for Afzal's son, Sardar Abdoor Rahman Khan, still kept the field with a body of about 12,000 men. It was not, however, till the 9th August 1864 that a treaty or engagement was entered into between the Ameer and Afzal Khan, by which the latter received back the governorship of Turkistan, less Maimanah, transferred to Herat, and less Koondooz and Katoghan, transferred to the jurisdiction of Cabul. A few days later Sardar Abdoor Rahman Khan made his submission at Mazar-i-Sherceef. Dr. Bellew has said in another place that Ameer Shere Ali threw Afzal Khan into prison after swearing upon the Koran to respect him, but it will be seen from what we have stated, that for at least two months after the submission at Bazgah the Ameer was negotiating with Afzal Khan, and was willing to restore to him a very large measure of his authority in Turkistan. About a fortnight, however, after the signature of the engagement between them the suspicions of the Ameer were roused by the conduct of Sardar Abdoor Rahman Khan. A message was accordingly sent this chief to proceed to Cabul with all his family and his property, but, instead of complying, he at once fled to Bokhara, on which the Ameer, in his anger, caused Afzal Khan to be ironed in his

presence, and sent him a prisoner to the Bala Hissar. He was subsequently removed with Mahommed Surwar Khan, captured at Kujlbaz, eldest son of Mahommed Azim Khan, to the safer custody of the citadel at Ghuzneen. It was not till the 14th November that the Ameer returned to Cabul, in order to direct his attention to the attitude assumed at Kandahar by Sardar Amin Khan. The campaign between these full brothers began early in 1865, but it was not till the 5th June of that year that the armies met at Kujlbaz, close to Ussiah Hazara in the Khelat-i-Ghilzi district. On the morning of the 6th June 1865, the Ameer directed his General, Mahommed Rafeek Khan, to advance against Shereef Khan, the chief who is now living at Massoorie, and who is also a full brother of the late Ameer, whilst he directed his son, the heir apparent, Mahommed Ali Khan, to attack the wing of the enemy, commanded by Mahommed Amin.

It was in this attack that the uncle and nephew encountered. Amin Khan gave and received several sword wounds, and then shot Mahommed Ali through the head, but was himself immediately shot by the Prince's soldiers. The result of the battle was a victory for Shere Ali, who captured 18 guns and took many prisoners, including Mahommed Surwar Khan, eldest son of Azim Khan.

It will be seen that up to the date of this battle the cause of Shere Ali was triumphant, and that he did not demand aid from Persia, or seek refuge at Herat. After the battle he marched on Kandahar, which was entered on the 14th June. Here the Ameer gave himself up to melancholy brooding for his son, and allowed his affairs to drift into the utmost confusion in the hands of his eldest son Mahommed Ibrahim Khan. Gradually the hopes of Abdoor Rahman and of Azim Khan revived, and when Ibrahim Khan insulted Mahommed Rafeek Khan in open durbar, every one knew that the cause of Shere Ali was lost. After a world of intrigue and desertions, Cabul was occupied by Azim Khan and Abdoor Rahman Khan on the 24th February 1866. New dissensions between these chiefs led at last to the command of the field army destined to operate against Shere Ali being given to Abdoor Rahman Khan, whilst Azim Khan remained in charge of the civil Government at Cabul. Abdoor Rahman advanced southward, whilst on the 12th April Ameer Shere Ali, who had thrown off his melancholia, marched northwards to recover his capital and his half-lost kingdom. Everything went well with him till the armies were in presence. He drove back Abdoor Rahman and raised the siege of Ghuzneen, and then pushed on 40 miles further towards Cabul and found his enemies entrenched at Shekhabad, or

Shekoabad. In the battle which ensued, fought on the 10th May 1866, the Ameer was first checked by the tactics of his late general Mahommed Rafeek Khan, and then overwhelmed by the desertion *en masse* of the Kandahari troops in his army. His defeat was total, and led to the surrender of Ghuzneen and the liberation of Afzal Khan, who was at once proclaimed Ameer. Afzal Khan entered Cabul under a salute of 100 guns on the 21st May, and next day Shere Ali rode into Kandahar a fugitive. From this brief narrative it will be seen into what a tangle Dr. Bellew has drifted. His history cannot, in fact, be trusted, and this detracts from the merits of his work. His great reputation must lend weight and authority to any statements he may make, and hence we have thought it our duty to set out the facts at more length than we otherwise perhaps should have done. We regret the carelessness which thus disfigures Dr. Bellew's work and deprives it of almost all its value, quite as much for his own sake as for the sake of his readers.

Afghanistan—the country of the Afghans—has since the time of Ameer Dost Mahommed come to include the mountain land between the Oxus on the north, the Helmund in the south, Persia on the west and the Suleiman range on the east. To the south of this great area lies the country of Beloochistan, a land also of hills and vales and deserts, on the western side of which the decrepit power of Persia has shown symptoms of aggressive energy, while on the east, the Khan of Kelat, as ruler of the whole country, has fallen entirely under English influence, and has made over to English keeping the important town and post of Quetta, at the northern end of the Bolan Pass. Towards the east the line of the Suleimans runs from Kohat pretty fairly parallel with the course of the Indus, until that river receives the last of its Punjab tributaries, and turns south-westwards to flow through the plains of Sind. Behind this line are a series of wide valley spaces, but little known as yet to the English, because of the jealousy of the tribes who hold them, as the Highlanders held the glens of the Champsians. But of the character of these valleys, the principal of which are Koorrum, Khost, Lochi, Zhob and Bari, an idea may be formed from the recent accounts of the march of Major-General Biddulph's brigade from the Pesheen valley to the Indus, and from what is already known of the fine and fertile valleys of Khost and Koorrum. To the west these valleys are shut in by the main chain of the Suleimans, the further slopes of which are watered by the many streams which go to make up the Helmund. As the valley of this river has always presented an easy road into the heart of the mountain country, it has been the road followed by all conquerors, and has attracted always

the largest, and most settled portion of the population. Still proceeding westward, the mountains of Gour deflect the Helmund to the west, and interrupt any direct communication with the important city of Herat, the frontier town of the Afghan Kingdom.

But from Kohat northwards, the character of the mountain lands changes; the valleys have a general direction from north to south, instead of from east to west, as in the case of the Suleiman valleys, and the great range of the Hindu Koosh runs back from the Indus, westward, to meet the Khorassan range, dividing Persia from the Steppes, and which passes south of the Caspian Sea, and is continued in the famous range of the Taurus. North of the Hindu Koosh the whole country is a wilderness of mountains and passes until the Oxus is reached, and across the valley of the river to the northward the peaks of the Kara Tau range are seen, behind which the Russian Czar at Samarcand holds the ruler of Bokhara in the hollow of his hand. The whole country north of the range of the Sufed Koh, dividing the Koorum from the Jellalabad valleys, is a far more difficult country than that to the south of Koorum. Then again the mass of the mountains between Cabul and Ghuzneen on the east, and Maimanah and Herat on the west, is but little known; the few who have penetrated its recesses represent it as impracticable, a fitting refuge for the tribes who hold it, and who place a long inherited confidence in its strength and inaccessibility.

From the west the long and fertile valley of the Helmund has always invited the march of armies, and has always been used as the road by which conquerors approached India. If they sought to foray only, they made Kandahar their base and at once threw their forces into India by the shortest routes, but if they meant conquest, then they turned northward and mastered Ghuzneen and Cabul and brought under their influence the mountain tribes. In all ages the military value of these positions has remained unchanged; if they were held from the west by any of the Persian dynasties, the road to India was always open, its invasion always practicable; but if the masters of India held Cabul and Kandahar, India remained in safety and peace behind these fortresses. Their possession thus became an object to whoever ruled in Iran or in India, and their history is a long story of battles and sieges in which the men of the north and west contended with the men of the south and east.

Who are the Afghans? They themselves do not appear to know clearly. It is a question in the discussion of which knowledge is more likely to be confounded than increased, until the people are more thoroughly known and their traditions, and

such records as they have, more thoroughly sifted than has hitherto been possible. Standing in the path of great conquerors, or occupying the unenviable position of a debateable land between great empires, the country now known as Afghanistan has by its very physical features been marked out for the operation of two causes, which more than any other tend to break up traditions, and to scatter and mix populations. The rugged mountains offered fugitive tribes a safe refuge and vantage ground to defend their threatened existence. Whilst the warlike character the mountaineers acquired, and the difficulty of checking them by regular troops led in all ages great conquerors to transport troublesome sections of their own subjects, or it may be the inhabitants of whole districts who had shown too fierce and stubborn a spirit of resistance, to these hills, where their mere presence produced at once, an inflamed hostility between themselves and the mountaineers. Probably no country in the world of the same size has experienced more largely those disruptions, changes, exterminations and re-settlements, which marked the progress of a Nebuchadnezzar, a Darius, Alexander, Ghengis or Tamerlane, than what we now call Afghanistan. It is peopled by a *debris* of races. Amongst its valleys we may hear preserved the accents of the most ancient of tongues, and may find records of all the religions that have swayed mankind, save only the Christian. If the country is covered with Buddhist remains, these are found to have existed in many places side by side with relics of the more ancient fire worship, and to this day a few families keep alive a remnant of Hinduism in the very capital, Cabul, itself. Under a settled and tolerant Government it would speedily appear that throughout the country the Islamism of almost all the tribes, except those of pure Afghan origin, is more or less superficial. There are large sections of the population who long for the advent of the British as rulers, not only because they would be freed from the exactions and cruelties of the dominant race, but because they would be able to return to many customs of their fathers still cherished in secret. Even amongst the Afghans, or Pathans, themselves, Islam is more the mark of the superior race than a national religion heartily accepted because understood and comprehended. Its principal recommendation to a Pathan is the privilege it gives him of using his strength against all those who do not share his professions. But how little in earnest they are, how little in fact any real religious sentiment governs their conduct, is proved by the small reverence they attach to the Koran. An oath on the Koran did not prevent the heir of Cabul, Akbar Khan, from joining in the murder of Sir William Macnaghten. There can

be no doubt that this form of adjuration was deliberately adopted by the Prince and his Sardars in order to throw the envoy completely off his guard. It was knowingly used as a ruse. Yet this ruse could not have been adopted if there had been one amongst the Afghan chiefs who, as a follower of the Prophet, had realised the sacred character of the book. Men who can take advantage of the character attached to the Koran can clearly have no perception of the guilt of sacrilege. Ameer Shere Ali himself disregarded an oath on the Koran in the case of Afzal Khan, as soon as the conduct of Afzal Khan's son furnished him with a reason or pretext for doing so. And, again, an oath on the Koran did not prevent his imprisoning his son Yakoub Khan, the present Ameer. But perhaps the most notorious instance of an Afghan's want of reverence for the sacred volume of the Moslem is furnished by Yar Mahommed Khan, Chief of Herat. This Prince swore upon seven Korans, and confirmed his oath with his seal, that if the Chief of the Tamounis would surrender, he should be allowed to depart unmolested. The chief put faith in so solemn a pledge, threw open the gates of his fortress, and presented himself before Yar Mahommed, but only to find that he and his sons were captives, and that the oath had yet to be devised which an Afghan should consider sacred and binding.

To return, however, it has been said that Afghanistan is peopled by a *debris* of races. Underlying them all, there are scattered all over the country, communities of Sarts or Tajiks, as they would be called in Bokhara, who have adopted Afghan ways and manners and who are attached to one or other of the tribes. In the valleys running northwards from the main ridge of the Hindu Koosh, towards the Oxus, are septs, more ancient than even the Sarts, septs some of whom are now amongst the warmest supporters of Islam, yet who belong to tribes who were the rear-guard of the great Aryan invasion of India. Many of these are still independent, speaking a distinctly Sanscrit dialect and preserving archaic forms of religion, about which but little is known. These independent tribes are expressively called Kafirs by the Afghans, but, though they wage a ceaseless war against them, Kafiristan is still unsubdued, and the Kafirs are still a heavy thorn in the side of their Mahomedan neighbours. Kafiristan may be said roughly to lie between the valleys of Panjshere and Kunur, and between the lands of the Khagianis and Badakhshan. The Kafirs can claim kindred with most of the Mahomedan tribes in their immediate neighbourhood, many of whom still speak a dialect betraying their non-Afghan origin, and it is not so many generations ago that Swat itself was known by the name of the country of the Ghebirs, or fire-worshippers.

Along the Oxus there are numerous Oosbeg colonies, and Sart communities, and amongst these the Afghan is simply the most recent conqueror. All this territory was conquered in the life-time of Dost Mahommed. Bokhara has a latent claim to its allegiance, a claim that might some day be a convenient pretence to the masters of the Amir of the holy city, and the mere recollection of which is sufficient to induce the Government of India to persuade Ameer Yakoob Khan that it is his first duty to pacify his cis-Oxus provinces. Proceeding westward it is found that wherever the hills abut upon the desert, there are tribes of Oosbeks, Turkomans,—Karas, Sarik, Salor and other tribes,—whilst towards Herat the country is held by the powerful race of Djemshidis, who, if they be anything at all, are of pure Persian descent; men who might claim kindred with the hero Roostum himself. The mere enumeration of these tribes is an index to the variety of languages spoken. They are, however, men of the plain. The men of the mountains are widely different and belong for the most part to the Hazarahs, a people whose origin is a fertile mine of speculation and who are found everywhere from the Indus to Herat, scattered through the northern mountains. Their main home is in the mass of the Paropamisus between Cabul and Herat. They are wild, brave, free, and deadly enemies to the Afghans. Most of them speak dialects of ancient Persian; amongst them is found the Seherai, a tribe of pure Mongols, left there by the wave of the conquests of Ghenghis Khan. South of these Hazarahs, so called from their claim to have a thousand clans, the chief amongst them being Eimaks and Zeidnats, in the valley of the Helmund, we come upon the settlements of the Afghans of the Abdali branch of the nation. These tribes claim to hold their present settlements from the time of Sebektaghin. The Abdalis hold the Helmund and the Suleimans. The Waziris in the centre, as well as the Yoosufzais on the north, belong to this branch. The other branch, the Ghilzais, is not so powerful, nor does it hold so fertile or so promising a territory. It might be from this circumstance that the Ghilzais were anciently the most turbulent of all those who claimed Afghan descent. Mahmood of Ghuzneen nearly exterminated them; yet it was one of their sept, the Loods, which furnished the first line of Pathan emperors to Delhi. It was a Ghilzai chief, Meer Wais, as we have seen, who first conceived the idea of establishing a modern Afghan kingdom, and it was a Ghilzai, Mahmood, who overturned the Seffavian dynasty in Persia.

The glory of the Abdalis began only with the rise of the Suddozai chief, Ahmed Shab. Since his time the Abdalis have

retained the supreme power, for, although the family of Ahmed Shah has sunk into obscurity, the sovereignty has fallen to the Mahommedzai branch of the Barukzais, the second of the divisions of the Abdali nation. Lastly, besides Oosbeks, Turkomans, Kafirs, Hazarabs, Sarts and Afghans, there is at Cabul and its neighbourhood a colony of Kuzzilbashs, or Persians, settled there by Nadir Shah, and originally consisting of 12,000 families.

As a rule, the settled population is composed of Tajiks. The Afghans themselves may be described as semi-nomad, the Hazarabs Oosbeks and Turkomans as purely nomadic in their habits. In faith, the bulk of the tribes are Mahommedans of the Sooni sect; only one or two being Shiah. In fact, the Shiah may be said to comprise the Kuzzilbashs of Cabul and the Bangashes of the Koorum valley. They are invariably oppressed on the score of their difference of faith by their Suni neighbours, who would indeed proceed to extremities if it were not for the military strength of the tribes oppressed. But amongst both Afghans and Tajiks, Hazarabs and Oosbeks, the Mahommedan religion is one of observances and words; the only precept they thoroughly comprehend is that enjoining the use of the sword against infidels. In the glens of the Paropamisus Ferrier found a remnant of fire-worshippers. But the feature of the religion of the Afghans is the way in which they allow themselves to be fleeced and imposed upon by their priests. These are divided into classes, which are in many instances fast becoming clans. They interfere with every concern of life as far as they dare, or the good nature of their neighbours will allow them, and of late years their special business has been to preach war against the English, just as in Bokhara the same classes made it their business to preach war against the Russians, until the war they stirred up left the infidels masters of the country. Amongst the Afghans the priests, or rather religious classes, are divided into two great groups, the Astanadars and the Moolahs.

The Astanadars or "holders of a place," are divided into four classes, the Syad, the Pir, the Mian, and the Sahcbzadah. The Syads claim descent from the prophet. They are numerous, and in different localities hold entire villages and have their own chiefs or head-men. They lose no opportunity of acquiring lands in gift. The Pirs are Afghans descended from a recognised *buzurg* or saint. The posterity of the saint keep up his *Ziarat* or tomb, as a place to which pilgrims resort, claim the power to work miracles themselves, or spread the fame of the wonders worked at the shrine by the saint. As sons of holiness, this class claim to hold their share of the soil rent free, to be exempt from labor and taxes, and to receive, as a working priest-hood, a share or tithe in the produce of the village fields. They

also claim religious and social pre-eminence, and, as the Syad has arrogated to himself the title of Shah, the Pir demands to be addressed as Badshah. Lastly, by pretending to possess a *huda*, or charm, for every disease, they alone of all Afghans claim and receive the privilege of entree into the women's apartments.

Following this important and rapacious class come the Mians. They claim and receive a deference but little inferior to that received by the Pirs, but they are debarred from entering the women's apartments. Their inferiority is due to the fact that they are descended from saints who are not pure Afghans, but Hamsayahs, or vassals of the Afghans. But as a rule the Mian class is wealthy, more so even than the Pirs. They are also more numerous, and not unfrequently form powerful village communities. The vassal, indeed, in their case has turned the tables on his lord by taking advantage of the proneness of that master to indulge in the wildest superstition. Lastly there is the Sahebzadah class, or the descendants of men holy enough to receive general approval and to wield immense influence in their life time, but not holy enough to set up for saints. Of this class will be the sons of the famous Akhoond of Swat. As a rule they are wealthy, but they are not numerous.

The second great group of those devoted to a religious life, or supposed to be so devoted, consists of the moollahs. They are the working priesthood. The Moollayan are divided into four orders; the Imam, the Moollah, the Sheikh, and the Talib-ul-ilm. The first are the hereditary ministers of the mosques. Every mosque has its own Imam, who is the leader and guide of the congregation. The ordinary priest is the Moollah; these are the curates of the Imams, the teachers of the village children, the heads of religious seminaries, in so far that they teach candidates for their own office the Koran, and they not unfrequently either succeed to a mosque, or manage to get one for themselves, in which case they rank as Imams. The Sheikh is merely a religious devotee, who has given up the world and attached himself as *murid* or disciple to some saint or holy man. Lastly the Talib-ul-ilm is the seeker after wisdom, or candidate for holiness. These differ from the Sheikh, in that they do not attach themselves to any particular mosque or to any particular saint. They are the counterpart of the wandering devotees of India; they find shelter in every mosque, and food wherever they can find a Mahomedan. Their cue is to be in a special manner bigoted. Shrewdness and ignorance are their characteristics.

From what has been said it is easy to see that the Afghans are as remarkable for their superstitions as for their pride. They draw the distinction between Pirs and Mians, as between Afghans and Hamsayahs, or dwellers with them, and deny to the descendants of the infe-

rior tribe the right to enjoy the pure privileges of saintship. This is noteworthy. Amongst themselves the same pride is observable. The great tribe of the Abdalis has two grand sub-divisions, the Zerek and the Pindjpa. To the former belong the Populzais, Barakzais, and Alikiouizais, and to the Pindjpa, the Isakzais, Alizais, Noorzais, Khagianies and Makoochies. The Zerek claim to be nobler than the Pindjpa, and both assert a superiority of descent over the Ghilzais. These claims have led at times to sanguinary feuds.

If the neighbours of the Afghans be asked their characteristics, the instant reply will be, faithlessness and cruelty. If they themselves be asked to describe themselves, they will put courage and bravery first, nobility of descent second, and piety third. The Afghan, as a rule, if of pure blood, is fair for an Asiatic, tall and well-built, with that marked Jewish physiognomy, found everywhere through the mountains from the shores of the Black sea to the banks of the Indus ; a strong soldierly-looking man, with a bold and fierce look, dressed in a mass of loose fitting clothes, which, however, do not prevent the free use of his limbs. He is brave and rash, manly and childish, mean and reckless, greedy and profuse, proud of his tribe, himself, his courage and strength, impatient of discipline, fierce so long as he can charge sword in hand, but untrustworthy when it comes to a question of stubbornness and resolution, easily excited and easily led away, superstitious to a degree, loyal enough to success, but perfectly indifferent to loyalty as a sentiment or principle ; a man who would desert the English and the Russians by turns, but who would fight just as hard, and just as indifferently on either side ; and above all, a man who has earned from all his neighbours the reputation of being absolutely faithless. He is a man who in a special sense is bound by the exigencies of the hour, as they appear to him, or as he can be made to see them.

In considering the Afghan question two points require to be always borne in mind. The first is the character of the Afghan kingdom. It is not solid, it is not compact, it is not ancient, it is not strong in the acceptance of a united people ; it is not organised, it has not a settled system of law, a recognised rule of succession, an undisputed dynasty of popular princes ; its very boundaries have not been defined ; it does not claim the allegiance of all Pakhtans, or all, that is, who claim to be of the same race as the ruling sections ; it cannot and could not be made a buffer to India, because of its inherent weakness, and because of the existence of tribal jealousies which compel the ruling family to play Abdali against Ghilzai, and Ghilzai against Abdali. Such as it is now, it has grown up in our own time, out of the ruins of the monarchy of the Suddozais but it does not comprehend all that obeyed the sceptre of even

Shah Soojah-ul-Mulk. The Barakzais rule over less lands, and even fewer tribes than the Suddozais, and do not personally possess a like claim to general obedience. The Suddozai was acknowledged to be the noblest, a material point amongst a proud people; but the Barakzais are the strongest and the ablest. It is singular to note how Dost Mahommed and again Shere Ali showed their deference to the pride of the Abdalis by their choice of the sons of Populzai mothers as their successors. It is only the acknowledged ability of Yakoob Khan which prevents his birth from a Mohmund mother from being used against him—but in judging of his position this fact must be constantly borne in mind, as it may be a powerful weapon in the hands of pretenders of purer blood.

But again not only is there a marked difference between the men of the north and south, the Abdali being more smooth and plausible than the Ghilzai, who adds to an innate capacity for treachery a certain roughness and manliness of bearing; but there are also tribal jealousies which every now and then crop up with unexpected fierceness. It is not that the Afghans are united, but that the sections which are ruled from Cabul are disunited, unsettled, and not sure which one of their many princes they will support. The late Dost Mahommed did not win the last province of his kingdom till a few days before his death, and he left the kingdom in consequence overshadowed by foreign questions which may at any time become urgent. For instance, whilst Persia has never abandoned her claims to Herat, she has advanced new claims to parts of Seistan, and these have been to a certain extent allowed by an English commission. She has only to renew her claim to Herat, whose former chiefs of the family of Yar Mahommed Khan are her pensioners, or to push her claim against Seistan, to stir up a contest involving wider interests than those of Persian and Afghan, and greater potentates than the Shah and the Ameer. Then again in the north Bokhara has still recent recollections of sovereignty over Balkh and Mazar-i-Shereef, and besides the Bokhara Ameer is father-in-law to Sirdar Abdoor-rahman Khan, the chief who has actually put forward pretensions to the Afghan Ameerate, and who is said to have seized Balkh, and to have headed the rebellion against Yakoob Khan. Finally, nothing can show the state of Afghanistan so well as the fact that the Ameer cannot procure the release of two English soldiers captured after the signature of the treaty of peace by men supposed to be his subjects, that no guarantee from Cabul short of 500 sabres would ensure a free passage through the Khyber defiles, and that even at Cabul the

Ameer himself would not dare to ride thirty miles in any direction from the Bala Hissar without an escort.

We see then that he holds a precarious sovereignty over the Herat plain, the Helmund valley and the Cabul plateau, that in the mountains of the Paropamisus, Hazarahs, Berbers, Djemshidis, Turkomans, Oosbeks, Mongols all set him at defiance, that the eastern tribes inhabiting the Suleimans pay him no tribute but what they choose, and are practically independent except in Khost and Kurrum, that north of the Khyber his authority is repudiated in Badakhshan, and rejected in Balkh, that in Kafiristan it is unknown, and has never been admitted by the great tribes of Bajour, Swat, Chitral and the neighbouring valleys. Out of a population of perhaps 2,500,000 to 3,000,000, fully one-half deny his sway and the other half is always willing to furnish recruits for new rebellions. It is but little more than a century since the first Afghan king died, yet for three quarters of that time the Afghan tribes have been accustomed to civil war, and within the recollection of the present generation have seen a change of dynasty followed by even fiercer commotions than marked the fall of the Suddozais. How then can such a people be expected to be loyal? Men whose fathers and grandfathers have grown up in civil strife, are not likely to have any strong sense of duty to a particular prince, or a particular cause. But just when circumstances might have enabled Afghanistan to settle down, and the Government to assume, at least, the appearance of regularity, just indeed when British influence might have been made paramount once and for ever, British policy, whatever that may be, stepped in and delayed the recognition of Shere Ali, and denied him not only his father's subsidy, but the 6,000 muskets which would have made him undisputed master of Afghanistan. It is idle to argue about the time when we offended the late Ameer; we did so when we blinded ourselves to his accession, turned a deaf ear to his prayers, and offered the premium of our acknowledgment to any one who could capture and hold Cabul. We caused a civil war and have now had to wage a war of conquest to repair in some way our inconceivable blunder in 1863. Shere Ali never forgave us, never trusted us from December 1863. He blamed us and blamed us justly for the civil war, because our mere words would have prevented it. He forgot his losses and resentment under the inexpressible charm of Lord Mayo's personal influence, but they were always in his heart, and when he found that the advance of Russia, did not, as he always hoped it would, cause India to be friendly with him, he carried his friendship where it seemed to be wanted. We need not seek for his policy

towards India in any of his later declarations, but can go back to the early days of his struggle to establish himself in the inheritance left him by his father. In October 1864 Shere Ali heard of the capture of Tashkend by the Russians, upon which he remarked "that the English Government would certainly, on the nearer approach of Russia, become more attentively inclined to the Cabul Government and *that this event might thus be considered auspicious.*"

The desire of the Ameer to be drawn closer to India was reasonable and just, and dictated by the best interests of his family and his kingdom. Dost Mahommed had never trusted us although he had been willing enough to make use of our arms in his projects against Persia, projects which his death cut short, and which Shere Ali did not share or inherit. It was the Dost who invented the bogie of his inability to protect an European against the fanaticism of his subjects, a bogie the visit to Cabul of General Stolietoff exploded once for all. But it answered the Dost's purpose and left him to mature his plans and work his schemes untroubled by any inconvenient questions from an envoy who would not take no for an answer. The Dost although he suspected the aims of Russia, and knew her exact weight in Asiatic politics, died before she established herself on the Jaxartes. He felt no pressure from the north and was therefore careless of receiving more than a convenient friendship from the south. With Ameer Shere Ali everything was different. He found that the ancient relations of Afghanistan to India had been revived in a peaceful way, and that it was to India his subjects looked for careers as well as commerce. Under the Moguls many Afghan tribes had become absorbed into the body of the Indian people. In many places they formed communities, in some principalities, and all over the country the title Khan betrayed the claim of him who bore it to be descended from a Pathan or Afghan ancestor. Nor was this all, the peace which followed after the war of 1840-42 revived the connection between the two countries, and India began again, and has continued ever since, to absorb into the body of her Mahomedan population, a constant succession of drafts from the hills. These drafts, mostly Ghilzais, are to be found in every corner of India, engaged in a frugal sort of trade, or as shopmen. They seldom go back to their hills for good after they have once accustomed themselves to Indian ways of life, and they seldom remain long without marrying Indian Mahomedan women. It was only the other day Arsula Khan, chief of the Ghilzais, gave as his reason for not joining Ameer Shere Ali that he had to think of the 30,000 of his clansmen who were

scattered up and down throughout the length and breadth of India. We are not going to discuss here whether this recruiting is a source of strength or weakness, we have simply to recognise the fact that a close intercourse does exist between the Afghans and India and that this intercourse has done us good political service at need. But to Shere Ali this intercourse was a strong current bearing his views and hopes, his interests and his thoughts Indiawards. Naturally, placed as he was, with a great power swooping down on Bokhara and Khiva and threatening his own Cis-Oxus territories, he would turn his thoughts towards that country, where his tribesmen found military service, wealth in trade, and above all new homes. The Government of India would not notice this constant ebb and flow of Afghans, although it had been the subject of study and report by some of the ablest of the Punjab officials, but to Shere Ali it was a great fact indicating in which direction fate had marked that he and his people were to go. At all events it governed his conduct for fifteen years, and kept him watching for the day when British India would be "more attentively inclined" towards the Cabul Government. Besides, like every man from Corfu to Rangoon, he believed England was free from earth hunger. He knew he might trust her not to absorb Afghanistan, and that in case of war she would treat him as an ally at the end of hostilities, as well as at the beginning. She would not make her defence of Cabul against the Czar a pretence for annexation. He knew as a soldier it was not necessary for India to occupy Afghanistan, or to put an end to his monarchy. She could, and would obtain her ends without going so far as that. But with Russia the case was different. Afghanistan could only be her base, and if she obtained conquests in India she would not and could not abandon the only vantage-ground from which she could hold them. The Afghan Chiefs knew perfectly well that she dare not interpose, an independent people, holding one of the strongest and most difficult countries in the world, between her acquisitions on the Oxus, and her conquests, if she made any, in the Punjab. They knew Afghanistan, if Russia advanced, must either be Russian entirely, wholly and unquestionably, or English. The English is the least oppressive chance for them, and they have, drawn no doubt by their connection with India—always turned more to England than might even have been expected. The Afghan is a man who has a practical idea of war, and a selfish idea of policy. He does not trouble himself about those refinements which often shape and deflect the policy of England. He is without sentiment. He comprehends that England may adopt a certain line, not because he knows why, but because he has seen her follow

a like course on particular occasions, and he thinks of such aberrations with pity as a wanting of strength. His whole habit of mind is to judge others by himself. He will place himself mentally in what he considers the place of those opposed to him, and will judge of them by what he himself would do under like circumstances. He would in Russia's place absorb Afghanistan, and accordingly he is profoundly convinced that if Russia has the chance she will do that very thing. Further, as a man who has a natural aptitude for fighting and for selecting a position for battle, he is just as profoundly convinced England does not want all Afghanistan, but that circumstances may and will compel her to take up a commanding position in his valleys. The Afghans, whatever the English may do, or the Russian may say, view the matter practically, and will always continue to do so. But then when we speak of the Afghans we are confined to the tribes and chiefs dependent on Cabul. The independent tribes know little and care less about matters of policy, to them every one who intrudes into their lands is an enemy, unless, being stronger than they are, he becomes their friend.

But that the Cabul chiefs—to be more precise than the term Afghan will permit of our being—have always grasped the idea which occurred to Shere Ali when he heard of the capture of Tashkend is easily susceptible of proof. In his conversation at Umballa with Mr. Seton Karr, on 1st April 1869, Syud Noor Mahommed, the minister of Shere Ali remarked "We know the Russians to be great tyrants and not so trustworthily as you." And again "You do not want our country and were you to get it there would be no profit to you," and further on, "the day might come when the 'Russ' would arrive, and the Ameer would be glad not only of British officers as agents, but of arms and troops to back them!"

At the second interview between the Viceroy, and the Ameer on the 3rd April, Shere Ali, the first time he mentioned either Persians or Russians, observed that "the Persians and Russians who had not hitherto interfered with him might become the aggressors on learning he had attached himself to us."

Syud Noor Mahommed on 19th and 20th July 1873, in his interviews with the Indian Foreign Secretary distinctly pointed out the consequences of the occupation of Merv by the Russians, and drew attention to the fact that the son of Koshad Khan of Merv had waited upon the Ameer to tender him the allegiance of the Tekke Turkomans. He pointed out that a successful campaign against the Tekkes by a Russian force, would drive them across the border of Afghanistan into the district of Badghies, in the neighbourhood of Maimanah. Here they would

not give up their habits nor would they cease from raiding against the Russians. On their part the Russian generals would establish cantonments at Kerki, Charjui and other places near the Afghan border. "In view then of these apprehended dangers the envoy said it was the expectation of the people of Afghanistan that the British Government will attentively consider their situation, and suggest what reply should be made to the overtures of Russia, and at the same time that the British Government will state definitely what assistance would be given to Afghanistan in such an emergency."

We see in these extracts the same principal idea, the same policy as that indicated by the Ameer on hearing of the fall of Tashkend. The Cabul policy has two fundamental ideas: first to secure the largest terms of independence possible in the face of the certain collision of the two great empires, and second to secure that independence by English assistance, if on Cabuli terms so much the better. Now sufficient weight has never been given to Shere Ali's just complaints against the way he had been treated prior to 1869. His acknowledgment had been delayed; his request for a share of the countenance offered his father denied; his appeals to be strengthened so as to enable him to put an end to civil war had been curtly refused; his enemies had been saluted as sovereign, even whilst he was still in the field and still in a condition to continue the contest; and he had been almost driven to the belief that the Indian Government desired to break up Afghanistan as it was before Dost Mahommed consolidated it. Under the circumstances there can be no doubt the Ameer had abundant cause for resentment. Yet this being so, and remembering that he was intensely suspicious, and an Oriental, we may in some way gather how powerful were those motives which led him to put aside his resentment, to suppress what he thought were his wrongs, and to give such an ostentatious proof of his desire to be friendly as the visit to Umballa.

It was only after his hopes had been withered by immoveable coldness on the part of the Indian Government that, despairing of a policy which seemed objectless and the mere sport of circumstances; and hopeless of a friendship which seemed afraid to manifest itself, he turned to the bolder Russian, under the belief that it was better to make terms with the stronger, whilst time for arrangements was still available. England has committed two terrible blunders in late years, she extinguished King Theodore, instead of using him; she allowed Shere Ali to drift into antagonism to her, when his whole interest, as he showed from 1863 to 1873, was to establish a growing friendship between himself and India.

Even now the policy towards Afghanistan is neither strong nor weak. It will not advance, it cannot retreat ; it has simply crowded out General Stolietoff and placed Major Cavagnari in his place ; and it has engaged to defend from foreign aggression, wide territories which are not undoubtedly and indisputably in possession of the Ameer of Cabul, whilst abstaining from giving him aid to secure that possession. The Gundamak treaty of the 26th May guarantees, indeed, to Ameer Yakoob Khan 'Afghanistan and its dependencies,' but it nowhere states what 'Afghanistan and its dependencies' means, nor what are their boundaries. Yet this is clearly essential to an understanding not only with the Ameer, but with those 'foreign States,' with whom he is "to enter into no engagements without the concurrence of the British Government." After a war, which was less a war than a sustained military demonstration,—a sort of restrained hostilities but an increasing physical pressure, a war which was neither active enmity nor simple moral persuasion ;—it is only fitting that a peace should be concluded, which should mix up generosity and greed, aggression and forbearance, annexation and restoration, protection and desertion. The treaty is not clear enough to bind us, and is not therefore clear enough to bind any one else. It leaves us in the attitude a soldier would be in if the order "quick-march" were suddenly changed into "mark-time." It is indecisive, shifty, hurried, loose in its terms, looser in its views ; the obligation it imposes is indefinite, the means by which that obligation is to be fulfilled are not specified. It provides against attack on Afghanistan and its dependencies by "foreign powers," in the teeth of the fact that there are only two possible powers, Persia and Russia, that can attack the Ameer, but it does not provide that it will undertake to convey and explain to those powers the arrangement now made ; nor does it in any way provide that it shall be the duty of England, or the British Government, to arrange with Persia and Russia Afghan questions. It gives no legal undisputed position of sole mediator ; neither does it provide—and this is simply astounding—that no Resident of foreign powers shall be allowed to take up his residence at Cabul. We provide for the consequences of intrigue but wisely leave the opportunity open. This is so astonishing an omission as in itself to stamp the treaty as a makeshift. Lastly it in no way regulates or provides for the strength of the Ameer's forces.

And yet, imperfect as the document is, it has committed the Government to a very decisive advance, if the inherent weakness of English policy does not sacrifice the gain now secured. But even in estimating the gain to the Government we feel baffled by the indistinctness of its terms. It leaves us in doubt

whether Koorrum also includes Khost. Hitherto and under the Cabul rulers Khost has always been treated as a part of Koorrum, or as a tract subordinate to Koorrum. It has followed the fate of the larger valley. The English, however, have got into a habit of considering these valleys separately, and if this habit be now adhered to, it will very seriously militate against the value of Koorrum, to the Government of India. In rectifying the frontier in this direction two objects had to be kept in mind. The first, as a matter of course, was the necessity of occupying such a position as should enable us to command, and advance upon Cabul without absolutely entering upon the occupation of the city. The second object is also a necessity; it is the urgent need of our holding such a point in advance of our frontier as shall enable us to crush by a double attack the most dangerous of the tribes. The experience of last December has proved that this distinction belongs to the Waziris, the tribe which occupies the centre of the Suleiman chain. The Afridis are robbers by tradition and marauders by instinct. They cannot see a stranger without trying to rob him; they are, too, utterly careless of other people's lives. But they are only handitti. They seldom assemble in masses, and if they do, it is only to manifest their jealousies and dissensions. But with the Waziris it is different. They hold together more solidly as a tribe; they raid rather than maraud, and act in masses, and with a planned object. In December last they took Tonk and held its neighbourhood for a full week. It is needless to say they swept the land bare. Their country is difficult, and their force not to be despised. But if Khost were occupied as well as Tonk, the Waziris would be placed between an attack in front and an attack in flank, and would soon learn that their country was at our mercy, for it is much more accessible from Khost than from the Derajat.

Turning to Koorrum itself, this valley, if rightly used, must increase our weight in Afghanistan and in Central Asia indefinitely. It takes the Afridi country in rear, and from Ali Kheyl a force might be thrown into Cabul in three short forced marches. The valley itself is exceptionally fertile, and under a settled rule will speedily become a granary, and the seat of a large population. The main road to Cabul, a carefully constructed military road, would of necessity make it one of the principal routes of commerce between India and the countries beyond the border. But to secure its full advantages, the Railway should be pushed up to the foot of the Peiwar, and an annual fair established at Shalifzan. The whole weight of India would then rest on Cabul and be felt as an irresistible and substantial influence up to the banks of the Oxus. If the Government

have a shadow of a claim to political sagacity it will not rest until the Koorrum Railway is an accomplished fact. The mere sound of the wheels of the engine would do more to preserve quiet and peace than the presence of a division equipped for the field. The Government should also, by the establishment of great annual fairs at selected points, do all in its power to develop and cultivate that Afghan intercourse with India which is full of political possibilities, but which is now confined to a few clans only. The Afghans must be attracted to India by the pressure of self-interest, as well as by a consciousness of the power of the Government. If they are simply attracted by our wealth, without having conceived a respect for our power, they will prove the most dangerous of allies, the most treacherous and fatal of friends. But as we have pointed out, the Ghilzai tribe already feels its action fettered by the dispersion of its tribes-men through India.

It is this section of the Afghans which has always furnished those contingents of hill-men to India, who have lost even the name of their tribe, and who are absorbed into the Indian Moslem population. Barter possesses for barbarians the attractions of gambling for more civilised races. Rightly used the natural tendency of the hill-men would soon bring sections of the Abdalis into the market, and would thus gradually create amongst them substantial reasons for keeping the peace. It is not enough for the Government to look on; it is not enough that it should allow trade to develop. It must actively encourage trade as a political agency. It is better to purchase the stock of a tribe at a great fair, than to pay it an annual subsidy for keeping open a pass.

Another value of the Koorrum valley is that it is retired from the possible attacks of the great tribes who hold the northern flank of the Peshawur and Jellalabad routes. A proper command of the Khyber passes, and the fortification of strong positions in these defiles will effectually cover the Koorrum route, and enable us to silently turn the whole stream of trade as well as our military strength from a difficult to a safe route. In fact we have at last taken into our own hands the strategical key of the frontier.

Towards the south the occupation of Pishin, gives us a sheltered and fertile valley as a base for any future advance on Southern Afghanistan. As Quettah carried our out-posts beyond the Bolan, so Pishin carries them to the foot of the Khojak, and enables us to secure the construction of alternative military roads to Kandahar. The chief value of the possession of Pishin is that a force established there need not be wholly dependent on the Bolan as the road by which to obtain supplies and reinforcements. It would have been better to have occupied Kandahar at once,

but against this the Ameer would urge that the city was practically at our disposal, so long as we held Pishin, and that to hold it, openly as a result of the war would alarm his people, sever his communications with Herat, and deprive him of the most valuable revenue-producing portion of his territory. But it will not be long before the march of events will carry the English to both Cabul and Kandahar. The true line of defence for India is the line between these two cities, for it is the only line which enables us to make a perfectly closed frontier. If Cabul and Kandahar were first class fortresses, armed with the heavy guns, England could furnish without any serious difficulty, then an attack on either by any force supported by mere field artillery would be a folly secure of condign punishment. Sooner or later this will be the frontier of India, a frontier covered with three, if not four, first class fortresses, and impregnable to any attack from the north or west.

But it may be said that Herat must be occupied, that Herat is the key of India. This is a position we entirely combat. Herat is a place of very great strategical importance; for on that point all the roads in Central Asia unite. It is by nature fitted to be a base for an attack from the east on Persia, or from the west on India. But because it is solely fitted to be a base we would not occupy it. The shadow of a great fortress at Kandahar will cover Herat; our object must always be to combat any enemy advancing on India in a position where defeat to us means but a check, defeat to him, ruin. If we can fight in front of a great fortress covering many roads to India and drawing supplies and reinforcements from sister fortresses as well as from India itself, a defeat in the field will be merely an episode in the war, a misfortune easily reparable. But if we are to go to Herat because Russia goes to Merv, we shall play Russia's game and challenge her to a field 346 miles beyond our nearest base. We cannot conceive what military reasons can be adduced for England's undertaking such a folly as this would amount to. Russia must occupy Merv, whether we like it or not. Her military position in Central Asia is never safe so long as the route by Charjui, Merv, and the Ertrek is not wholly in her possession. But when she has Merv, she will not threaten India more than she does now from Samarkand. She will not be able to move without giving us ample notice, although, should she venture to dispute our mastery of Afghanistan, the actual quarrel preceding hostilities would not be of long duration. But when she has Merv, she will be at a disadvantage as compared with England, for we can always cripple her by defining the limits she cannot cross without provoking war, and we can always throw into the scale

against her the fanaticism of the Afghans already aroused by the occupation of the holy city of Bokhara. By declaring Herat an inalienable part of Afghanistan, we make it impossible for Persia or Russia to attempt its occupation without war. At the same time its occupation would confine them to a single line of operations. They would have to advance by the valley of the Helmund for over 300 miles and then meet us on ground of our own choosing, and where all the strategical advantages, because of our occupation of the line fortresses from Kandahar to Cabul, must be on our side. The fortification of this line would deprive Herat of its renown and its prestige, for all Central Asia would come to comprehend that against the strength of such a line, backing the operations of an English field army more perfectly equipped and more fresh than its adversary, any force advancing from the northward to disturb British rule in India would simply be marching to its own destruction.

NOTE ON THE SECOND BAZAR EXPEDITION.

Article on the Kabul Campaign.—"Calcutta Review," No. CXXXVI, for April, 1879.

IN commenting on the failure of the Second Bazar Expedition, the writer of the article on "the Kabul Campaign," in the last number of this *Review*, remarked that the return of the force was said to have been hastened by the threatening attitude of the Mohmands, but that it would rather seem to have been due to interference on the part of the Government of India with the plans of the generals.

Since the article in question was published, we have learnt enough of the true history of this expedition to place the causes of its failure beyond all possibility of doubt; and, as the matter is one in which personal reputations are at stake, we propose to place the facts of the case before our readers.

The premature return of the expedition was indirectly connected with the scare about the attitude of the Mohmands, though, had the general in command been otherwise unfettered, this alone would probably not have compelled that step. The fact is that the failure of the expedition was due to a combination of causes, foremost among which was the limitation of the time allowed for it to ten days, a limitation which was not only absolutely incompatible with the attainment of the original object of the expedition, as defined by Major Cavagnari, but stamped it as useless almost from the first.

The expedition was undertaken on the strong representation of Major Cavagnari for the purpose of bringing the refractory tribes of the valley to reason, and the plan laid down by him was to make a leisurely progress through the valley, and visit, one after another, all the villages of these tribes. In accordance with this plan, the entire force was to have concentrated at Bazar and remained there some days, and it was not intended to reach Bara before the eighth or ninth day.

Shortly before the expedition started, however, a telegram was received by the Government insisting on the return of the force within ten days.

In spite of the embarrassment foreshadowed in this restriction it was determined to proceed, and on the fifth day a reconnaissance was made towards Bara. But hardly had this been done, when Lieutenant-General Maude received from the Quarter-Master General, without any explanation, a letter, dated four days subsequent to the telegram which directed him to start on the ex-

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petition, reminding him that the British Government had declared war against the Ameer and his troops, and not against the people of Afghanistan and the adjoining tribes, and enjoining him to use his utmost endeavours to avoid provoking unnecessary collisions with the tribes.

As it had by this time become abundantly evident that any further advance would result in a serious collision with one or more of the tribes, if not in a general Afridi combination, Lieutenant-General Maude very properly considered it his duty to write for an explanation of this mysterious telegram, and in the meantime to suspend further operations. On the seventh day, January 31st, while awaiting the reply to this and another communication regarding the hostile attitude of the country, he received a message from Sir Sam Browne to say that he had received information that Dakka and Jalalabad were to be attacked by the Mohmands on the 7th February, and that Brigadier-General Tytler's force must be back at those places before that date.

This reduction of the expeditionary force by 1300 men, who must march, at the latest by the 3rd February, rendered it too weak to carry out the object of the expedition, even if there had been still time to do so within the assigned limit. Luckily the head man of the Bara Kheyls came in in the meantime and made terms, undertaking that not a shot should be fired at the force; a promise which was faithfully kept.

Orders were accordingly given for the return of the expedition on the 3rd Feb. Then, when it was too late, came a reply to General Maude's enquiries, informing him that the letter about avoiding collisions with the tribes was a circular, and not meant to affect the particular operations in which he was engaged, and that a political officer would be sent to him immediately, after consulting whom he was to act according to his own discretion as regards a further advance. This, however, owing to the urgency of Sir Sam Browne's requisition for General Tytler's force, would have been out of the question, even had not terms been in the meantime made with the tribes; and on the 3rd the several columns were retired.

THE QUARTER.

AMONG the events of the past three months the conclusion of peace with the Amir Yakub Khan stands out in conspicuous relief.

When we closed our last retrospect the result of the correspondence that had been going on between Yakub and Major Cavagnari since the end of February was still doubtful, and all that was known to the public of its purport was that the Amir, by whom apparently it had been initiated, had expressed, in general terms, a desire for the restoration of friendship between the two countries, and that Major Cavagnari had replied to this communication in a letter, the contents of which have not transpired, but which, there could be no doubt, reciprocated, in some form or other, the Amir's wish.

Of the course or character of the correspondence between this time and the end of April nothing whatever has yet been made public; but from the continued military preparations both at Safed Sang and in the Kurrum Valley, it may be inferred that, either no fresh communications were received from Yakub Khan during the interval, or that, if any such communications reached the British camp, they were far from being completely satisfactory. Even the position of the Amir at Kabul was during the whole of this time a matter of great uncertainty, the most contradictory rumours on the subject reaching the British camps from day to day, and the Government of India being apparently no better informed regarding it than the public.

The final preparations for an advance on the capital had just been completed, when a letter was received from Yakub Khan, intimating his intention of proceeding to Safed Sang for the purpose of negotiating in person with the British authorities there.

In pursuance of this intention, Yakub Khan started from Kabul on the 2nd May, and reached the British camp on the 8th of the same month. On the 19th May it was announced by the Government of India through the Press Commissioner that he had agreed to the basis of a satisfactory treaty, which would secure all the chief objects of the British policy.

The actual treaty was signed on the 26th May, and four days later, on the 30th May, it received the Viceregal ratification at Simla. The preliminary discussions which must have taken place at Safed Sang between the 9th May and the date on which the basis of the treaty was finally settled, still remain a profound secret to the outside world, while of the circumstances of

the Amir's prolonged sojourn at Safed Sang, or of his intercourse with high British officials there, little is known beyond the position of his camp, and the programme of such public ceremonies as were enacted for his benefit.

The following are the terms of the Treaty of Peace, as officially published :

ARTICLE 1.

From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government on the one part, and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and its Dependencies, and his successors, on the other.

ARTICLE 2.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and its Dependencies, engages, on the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, to publish a full and complete amnesty, absolving all his subjects from any responsibility for intercourse with the British Forces during the War, and to guarantee and protect all persons of whatever degree from any punishment or molestation on that account.

ARTICLE 3.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and its Dependencies, agrees to conduct his relations with Foreign States in accordance with the advice and wishes of the British Government. His Highness the Amir will enter into no engagements with Foreign States, and will not take up arms against any Foreign States, except with the concurrence of the British Government. On these conditions, the British Governments will support the Amir against any foreign aggression with money, arms, or troops, to be employed in whatsoever manner the British Government may judge best for this purpose. Should British troops at any time enter Afghanistan for the purpose of repelling foreign aggression, they will return to their stations in British territory as soon as the object for which they entered has been accomplished.

ARTICLE 4.

With a view to the maintenance of the direct and intimate relations now established between the British Government and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and for the better protection of the frontiers of His Highness's dominions, it is agreed that a British Representative shall reside at Kabul, with a suitable escort, in a place of residence appropriate to his rank and dignity. It is also agreed that the British Government shall have the right to depute British Agents with suitable escorts to the Afghan frontiers, whensoever this may be considered necessary by the British Government in the interests of both States on the occurrence of any important external fact. His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan may on his part depute an Agent to reside at the Court of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and at such other places in British India as may be similarly agreed upon.

ARTICLE 5.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and its Dependencies, guarantees the personal safety and honourable treatment of British Agents within his jurisdiction ; and the British Government on its part undertakes that its Agents shall never in any way interfere with the internal administration of His Highness' dominions.

ARTICLE 6.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and its Dependencies, undertakes, on behalf of himself and his successors, to offer no impediment to British subjects peacefully trading within his dominions, so long as they do so with

the permission of the British Government, and in accordance with such arrangements as may be mutually agreed upon from time to time between the two Governments.

ARTICLE 7.

In order that the passage of trade between the territories of the British Government and of His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan may be open and uninterrupted, His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan agrees to use his best endeavors to ensure the protection of traders and to facilitate the transit of goods along the well-known customary roads of Afghanistan. These roads shall be improved and maintained in such manner as the two Governments may decide to be most expedient for the general convenience of traffic, and under such financial arrangements as may be mutually determined upon between them. The arrangements made for the maintenance and security of the aforesaid roads, for the settlement of the duties to be levied upon merchandize carried over these roads, and for the general protection and development of trade with, and through, the dominions of His Highness, will be stated in a separate Commercial Treaty, to be concluded within one year, due regard being given to the state of the country.

ARTICLE 8.

With a view to facilitate communications between the allied Governments, and to aid and develop intercourse and commercial relations between the two countries, it is hereby agreed that a line of telegraph from Kurrum to Kabul shall be constructed by, and at the cost of, the British Government, and the Amir of Afghanistan hereby undertakes to provide for the proper protection of this telegraph line.

ARTICLE 9.

In consideration of the renewal of a friendly alliance between the two States, which has been attested and secured by the foregoing Articles, the British Government restores to His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and its Dependencies, the towns of Kandahar and Jellalabad, with all the territory now in possession of the British armies, excepting the districts of Kurrum, Pishin, and Sibi. His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and its Dependencies, agrees on his part that the districts of Kurrum and Pishin and Sibi, according to the limits defined in the schedule annexed,* shall remain under the protection and administrative control of the British Government: that is to say, the aforesaid districts shall be treated as assigned districts, and shall not be considered as permanently severed from the limits of the Afghan kingdom. The revenues of these districts, after deducting the charges of civil administration, shall be paid to His Highness the Amir.

The British Government will retain in its own hands the control of the Khyber and Michni Passes, which lie between the Peshawar and Jellalabad Districts, and of all relations with the independent tribes of the territory directly connected with these Passes.

ARTICLE 10.

For the further support of His Highness the Amir, in the recovery and maintenance of his legitimate authority, and in consideration of the efficient fulfilment in their entirety of the engagements stipulated by the foregoing Articles, the British Government agrees to pay to His Highness the Amir, and to his successors, an annual subsidy of six lakhs of Rupees.

In criticising the terms of this treaty we may conveniently divide the subject into two branches, the territorial changes effected, and the new political relations established, by it.

Before entering on the discussion, however, it may be as well to prepare the way by a statement of the objects which the Government of India had in view when it entered on the campaign of last autumn. Those objects were, broadly, the substitution of a strategically and politically strong, for a strategically and politically weak, frontier ; the establishment of such an understanding with the Government of Afghanistan as would enable us to exercise an efficient control over its foreign relations, and the punishment of Sher Ali. Though the Government may have contemplated the occupation of the country as an untoward contingency which the course of events might force upon it, the measure was not only one which formed no part of its programme, but one, the necessity of which, it was from the first determined to avert, if possible. For this policy of abstention there were, among many reasons, two that were inexorable. One of these was the state of public opinion at home, which was unfavourable to annexation in general, and was specially biased against annexation of Afghanistan. The other was the fact that, from a military point of view, to occupy Kabul, without first reducing the intermediate country, however feasible it might be, would be to invert the logical order of events, and to cast on India an insupportable burden. The events of the late campaign have amply vindicated this view of the position ; for they have shown that merely to keep open the road between our existing frontier and the capital would, in the present state of our relations with the tribes who inhabit the intervening hill country, necessitate the constant employment of a considerable army.

If the occupation of the passes in force must at any time be a necessary preliminary to a march on the Afghan capital, any attempt to hold the capital permanently ought, unless it is to entail on us an enormous waste of life and money, to be preceded by the complete subjugation, or pacification of the adjacent tribes, a task implying either a series of arduous campaigns, or prolonged political intercourse from a point of incontestable vantage.

The present treaty gives us such a point of vantage, by vesting us with a complete right of control over the tribes ; and if we use it wisely, we shall, a few years hence, be in a position to take the final step, should it be necessary, without adding extravagantly to our pecuniary burdens, or arousing the fears of the most sensitive alarmist.

The preservation of Afghan independence being a *sine quâ non* of any tolerable arrangement, we have to consider the terms of the treaty without reference to the alternative of wholesale annexation.

The territorial changes made by the treaty consist in the transfer to the British Government of the control of the Khaibar and Michni Passes and the assignment to it of the districts of

Kurram, Pishin and Sibi, along with so much of their revenues as shall suffice to cover the cost of the civil administration. The city of Kandahar together with the country between it and the Pishin valley, on the one side, and, on the other, the town and valley of Jellalabad, which, at the time of the conclusion of the treaty, were in undisputed possession of the British armies, are restored to the Amir.

The justification of this extensive concession, involving, as it does, a serious strategical sacrifice, must be sought in political considerations.

The treaty declares that it is made "in consideration of the renewal of a friendly alliance between the two States," an account of the matter which merely states in diplomatic language, the popular notion that it is the price paid by the Government of India to be relieved from the necessity of continuing an embarrassing and unpopular war. That the Government, foreseeing that the disappearance of Yakub would place it in a most awkward dilemma, was anxious to hold him, rather than frighten him away, and that it was willing to make any reasonable concession for this purpose, admits of no doubt. At the same time, there are good grounds for thinking that it was influenced quite as much by other considerations, of a more remote, though not less weighty character. Having made up its mind that the best solution of the problem before it lay in the continuance of native rule at Kabul in friendly relations with itself, the Government had to elect between a liberality which, at the cost of some strategical loss to itself, would not only conciliate the Amir, but save him from extreme degradation in the eyes of his own people, and a severity which, as long as he lived, would rankle in his breast, besides impairing his authority to a dangerous extent. If we are to use the Amir as an instrument, even though it be only to preserve order in his own dominions—and it is essential to the fulfilment of the other conditions of the treaty that we should be able to do this—it is plainly our interest to avoid imposing on him conditions that would reduce his power to a shadow.

As far as an advance on Kabul is concerned, it is immaterial whether the frontier line is drawn at the termination of the Khaibar Pass, or extended so as to include the Jellalabad Valley, for our position at Ali Kheyl so completely commands that city as to render the alternative line of approach comparatively unimportant. For the purpose of exercising an efficient control over the tribes of the Khaibar and the highlands to the north of it, on the other hand, the possession of Jellalabad was one of first rate importance.

The sacrifice involved in the restoration of Kandahar is, perhaps, of less immediate moment, its strategical importance,

however great, having reference rather to the still remote contingency of an invasion by Russia, than to any additional hold that it would give us over Afghanistan, or the frontier tribes. That, in case of Russia threatening Herat, it would be necessary for us to occupy Kandahar, is obvious; but, holding the Pishin Valley and intermediate passes, we could do this at any moment with ease, and the disadvantage of its restoration is confined mainly to the circumstance that we thereby deprive ourselves of the opportunity of fortifying it beforehand.

We will pass now to the changes effected by the treaty in our political relations with the rulers and people of Afghanistan.

The chief points are those contained in the third, fourth and fifth articles, by which the Amir, on his side, agrees to conduct his relations with Foreign States according to the advice and wishes of the British Government; to enter into no engagements with, and not to take up arms against, any such States, without the concurrence of the British Government; to allow a British Representative to reside at Kabul, under suitable conditions, and British agents to be deputed to the Afghan frontier under similar conditions when necessary; and to guarantee the safety and honourable treatment of these agents; and the British Government on its side, undertakes to support the Amir against foreign aggression with money, arms or troops, and to allow the Amir to depute an agent to reside at the Court of the Viceroy, and such other places in British India as may be agreed upon.

In these two articles there is much that invites criticism. To begin with, there is a peculiarity in the order in which the reciprocal obligations created by them are stated, and which makes the undertaking of the British Government to support the Amir against foreign invasion conditional only on his abstaining from entering into engagements, or making war with Foreign States, without its consent, instead of on his complete fulfilment of the whole of the prime obligations imposed on him. Thus, for instance, as far as the text of the Treaty goes, a failure on the part of the Amir to fulfil his part of the engagement contained in the fourth and fifth articles would not release the British Government from its undertaking to support him against foreign invasion, except in so far as it might be considered to render the entire instrument null and void. The next point deserving of notice is the extreme vagueness and generality of some of the terms. It is said that a coach and four might be driven through most Acts of Parliament, but it strikes us that half a dozen such coaches might easily be driven abreast by either party through this

treaty. There is nothing, for instance, to show definitely what is intended by the expression "relations with Foreign States," employed in the first sentence of Article 3 and it is consequently doubtful whether a correspondence with the Governor of Russian Turkistan, or the reception of a Russian Envoy at Kabul, would come within the meaning of that expression?

The sixth, seventh, and eighth articles of the Treaty define the future commercial relations of the two countries. Though of subsidiary moment as regards the immediate objects of the Government policy, they contain the germs of changes which, should the course of events prove favorable, may some day be appealed to as the most important fruits of the late campaign. Theoretically, they transfer the country of Afghanistan from the pale of barbarism to that of civilisation; and though the full realisation of the prospect opened up by them implies social changes which no mere treaty agreement can accomplish, every year during which the terms of this document are faithfully observed, may fairly be expected to witness some progress in the right direction. The strong commercial instincts of the great body of the Afghan population are the lever by which the spirit of anarchy may be most effectually restrained, and it is, perhaps, not too much to say that the degree of heartiness and sincerity shown in working out the opportunities furnished by these three articles will prove the measure of the success of the treaty as a whole.

The tenth article of the treaty by which the British Government undertakes to pay the Amir an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees, has given rise to a great deal of misunderstanding and much foolish comment, on the part, especially, of Continental critics. It is considered in the highest degree anomalous, if not humiliating, that the victor should subsidise the vanquished, and cast suspicion on the verdict of war by paying for peace. The fact, of course, is that, in paying this annual subsidy, the Government of India is merely returning to a condition of things which existed long before the war, and which would never have been interrupted but for the mistrust with which our late policy inspired Sher Ali. The subsidy is given, not at all as the price of peace, nor merely as the reward of friendship, but with the view of enabling the Amir to fulfil obligations which the necessities of our policy impose upon him, and which the slenderness of his resources would otherwise prevent him from discharging efficiently.

The ratification of the treaty has been followed by the evacuation of the British positions at Gandamak and in the Jellalabad Valley, and the return to India of the greater part of the Peshawar Valley Field Force. To the south our troops still hold Kandahar, ostensibly out of regard for sanitary considerations.

The Amir left Gandamak for his capital on the 12th June, and is understood to be making suitable arrangements there for the reception of Major Cavagnari, who has been selected as Her Majesty's first Envoy and Plenipotentiary at Kabul, and who will, it is believed, set out for his post early in July, accompanied by a small escort. Arrangements are also on foot for simultaneously connecting Kabul with the Kurm Valley by a line of telegraph; and a working party, with a suitable escort, will be despatched at an early date for the purpose.

When noticing, in our last retrospect, Lord Lytton's angry reply to the protest of the British Indian Association against the contemplated abolition of the duty on certain classes of piece-goods, we remarked that the arguments employed by the Association had been reiterated by every journal in the country. The publication of the minutes of the dissentient members of the Governor-General's Council on the same subject has disclosed the fact that the abolition was opposed by the majority of the Council in terms far stronger than those employed by the Association. These minutes, in fact, form an indictment against the executive which no Government based upon public suffrage could have survived, or would have had the hardihood to provoke.

Mr. Whitley Stokes, among other cogent arguments urges :—

Sixthly, because nothing will ever induce the people of India to believe that the proposed exemption, if made, has been made, as no doubt we shall say it has, solely in their interest. They will be convinced by their newspapers (which are read aloud in every bazar) that it has been made solely in the interest of Manchester and for the benefit of the Conservative party, who are, it is alleged, anxious to obtain the Lancashire vote at the coming elections. Of course, the people of India will be wrong; they always must be wrong when they impute selfish motives to the ruling race. Nevertheless, the evil political results likely to follow from this popular conviction, should not be ignored, and should, if possible, be avoided.

Lastly, I object to the way in which the proposed change in the law is to be effected. The Viceroy, as I understand, intends to overrule the majority of his Council and to make the proposed exemption by Executive order, in the Revenue Department, under section 23 of the Sea Customs Act. Such an order is, no doubt, authorised by the terms of that section. But the Indian Legislature, in conferring on the Executive power to make such exemptions never intended that it should be exercised so as to make suddenly a vast change in our law, affecting not only the importers and consumers of the particular class of goods dealt with, but the taxpayers of India in general—a change that will not only seriously diminish our present revenue but force the hand of the Legislative Council by compelling them to impose new direct taxation. The power to exempt goods from customs duties was originally conferred by Act XVIII. of 1870, and was merely intended to relieve the Executive from the useless and troublesome formality of coming from time to time to the Indian Legislature to make in the tariff petty alterations which that Legislature, if applied to, would have made at once. The change now proposed is of a very different character. I have reason to think that it would never be sanctioned by the Legislative Council, unless

indeed arguments were brought forward in its favour far more cogent than those that I have heard. The proposed exemption of cotton goods, if made by a mere Executive order, will thus resemble what lawyers call a fraud on the power; and there is, unfortunately, no court of equity to relieve the people of India against it.

Sir Alexander Arbuthnot is still more outspoken. He says:—

9. In the preceding remarks I have dealt almost exclusively with the financial aspect of the question; but the question has a political aspect as well, which, in my opinion, is not less important than the financial one. There can be no doubt that the people of India attribute the action which has been taken by Her Majesty's Government in this matter to the influences which have been brought to bear upon it by persons interested in the English cotton trade, or in other words, by the manufacturers of Lancashire. It is notorious that this impression has prevailed throughout India from the time, just four years ago, when the Marquis of Salisbury informed a large body of Manchester manufacturers that the Government of India would be instructed to provide for the gradual abolition of the import duties on cotton goods. When Lord Northbrook's Government a few months afterwards adopted the very moderate measures of imposing an import duty on raw cotton, not the produce of continental Asia or Ceylon, and of lowering the tariff valuation on cotton goods, the native press was full of declamations against the new principle, which, it was alleged, was being introduced into the Government of India, of conducting that Government for the benefit of a particular section of the people of England, without reference to the interests of the people of India. This feeling was greatly strengthened by the language used in Lord Salisbury's despatch of the 11th November 1875, wherein (paragraph 10) he referred to the duty on cotton goods as placing the manufacturers of England and those of India in a position of political hostility to each other, and in subsequent passages put forward "the claims of the English manufacturers" in order to propose that they should be satisfied by the abolition of the duty on cotton manufactures. The same feeling has very recently found expression in the address presented to His Excellency the Governor-General by the British Indian Association—an address which I am bound to say appears to me to contain a correct enunciation of the principles which ought to guide the Government of India in this matter. Nor is this feeling limited to the native community. From communications which have been received from the Chambers of Commerce at Madras and Calcutta, it is evident that the feeling is shared by the leading representatives of the European mercantile community in those cities. In a letter which forms one of the appendices to the Budget resolution the Madras Chamber state their opinion that "the present is a most unsuitable time for thinking of sacrificing any of the State's resources under pressure from interested and imperfectly informed foreign manufacturers;" and a more recent letter which the Calcutta Chamber addressed to the Governor-General on the 10th instant, concludes with the following paragraph:—

"It has hitherto been proclaimed by the Home Government that taxation in India would be levied, and that the administration of the country would be conducted, not in the interests of England—far less a section of it—but in the interests of India itself. It will be a source of mortification and disappointment if it be now shown that the opinions and wants of sections of the people of England have more influence in determining the character of the financial legislation in India than the interests and expressed wishes of the people under the government of Your Excellency."

10. Nor is the impression to which I allude confined to the unofficial ~~stratum~~. It is equally shared by the great body of the official hierarchy

throughout India. I am convinced that I do not overstate the case when I affirm my belief that there are not at the present time a dozen officials in India who do not regard the policy which has been adopted in this matter as a policy which has been adopted, not in the interests of India, not even in the interests of England, but in the interests, or the supposed interests, of a political party, the leaders of which deem it necessary at any cost to retain the political support of the cotton manufacturers in Lancashire. This, it appears to me, is a most unfortunate state of things. It is very undesirable that an impression should exist, which, if it were well founded, would go far to justify the forebodings of those who deprecated the transfer of the direct Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown on the ground that India would be sacrificed to the exigencies of political parties in Parliament. For many years after that transfer took place, the propriety, and, indeed, the necessity of treating Indian questions, and especially questions connected with the internal administration of India, as a thing apart from parliamentary politics, was recognized by both the great parties in the State. By a tacit, but well understood, compact, India was excluded from the arena of party politics in the House of Commons. Now, for the first time there is a prevalent belief that this understanding has been departed from. A measure seriously affecting the finances of India has been, and is being, pressed upon Parliament by a powerful section of the English mercantile community, and the general opinion is that that pressure has so far produced an effect, that, at a juncture of the gravest financial difficulty and anxiety, the Government of India has been impelled to incur a sacrifice of revenue which the most ordinary considerations of financial prudence should have led it to retain, with the certainty that the present concession will only encourage further pressure until the whole of the particular branch of the State revenue which has been the object of attack shall have been abandoned. And this has been done at a time when we are engaged in war; when we have very recently emerged from a calamitous famine; when we have in consequence re-imposed direct taxation of a notoriously unpopular, and in its practical working often of an oppressive, description, which, having been raised for a special purpose, we are forced to divert to other purposes; and when the Government of India has scarcely recovered from the odium which it incurred by its legislation restricting the license of the vernacular press. This last mentioned measure was one of which I was personally in charge, and which, in concurrence with the Governor-General and with my colleagues in Council, I deemed to be called for by important political considerations; but important as those considerations in my judgment were, and important as I still regard them, I do not hesitate to say that nothing would have induced me to have been a party to the imposition of restrictions on the press if I could have foreseen that within a year of the passing of the Vernacular Press Act, the Government of India would be embarked on a course which, in my opinion, is as unwise and ill-timed as it is destructive of the reputation for justice upon which the prestige and political supremacy of the British Government in India so greatly depend. And here now I must remark that the slight value which in some influential quarters is attached to the popularity of our rule with our native subjects, has for some time past struck me as a source of grave political danger. The British Empire in India was not established by a policy of ignoring popular sentiment and of stigmatizing all views and opinions which are opposed to certain favourite theories as the views and opinions of foolish people. Nor will our rule be long maintained if such a policy be persisted in.

If the British Indian Association were justly aggrieved at the discourteous way in which the Viceroy treated their address, they

may find some consolation in the fact that the authors of the dissentient minutes fared even worse at the hands of the Secretary of State. Lord Lytton called the language of the Association objectionable, and questioned the disinterestedness of their motives. Lord Cranbrook stigmatised the language of the offending Members of council as coarse, their arguments as mere vain rhetoric and their spirit as insubordinate. Still more effective consolation is, perhaps, to be found for both the Association and the dissentient members, in the certainty that neither the address of the former, nor the minutes of the latter, will be without their effect at the next general election.

It was announced in the Budget statement that the Government of India had submitted a new currency scheme to meet the altered relative values of the precious metals, and presumably to obviate in some degree the heavy loss by exchange on its Home remittances, and that, pending the decision of Her Majesty's Government on these proposals, the reconsideration of existing financial arrangements would be held in abeyance. This scheme, the details of which have not yet been made public, was, however, rejected by the Home authorities, and the Government of India was thus left face to face with the alternative of imposing fresh taxation, or accepting extensive reduction of expenditure, in order to place its finances on a sound footing. In deference, to the pressure of the Secretary of State, it has adopted the former course, and on the 27th May a Resolution was issued from Simla announcing a sweeping scheme of retrenchment. As usual on such occasions, the Department of Public Works is the first and chief sufferer. Reductions to the extent of £733,000 in this Department, chiefly in ordinary, but partly also in extraordinary, public works, have been determined on. In addition to this, it has been decided to reduce considerably the Provincial assignments and the central establishments of the Government, among which the Department of Agriculture and Commerce has been abolished and its work made over to the Home Department. A further Circular, issued on the 16th June, estimates that the savings thus effected in the Civil Departments may be expected to amount to a million sterling, less pensions and other forms of compensation to discharged subordinates, thus raising the small surplus shown on the face of the estimates to the £1,500,000 required as an insurance against famine.

The last mentioned Circular also embodies a laboured attempt to vindicate the Government of India from the charge brought against it by the public, and notably in Mr. Yule's able address at the last meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, of having misappropriated the proceeds of the Imperial License tax, which

was imposed under a pledge that it would be applied strictly to the purposes of famine prevention. Though it is certainly shewn in the Circular that the surplus has been nominally restored, the defence can hardly be regarded as complete until it is demonstrated that the amount constitutes an actual addition to our resources against famine; and for this purpose it must be shown either that the expenditure of the Government on protective works has been increased by £1,500,000, or that the difference exists, in some tangible form or other, as a provision against famine.

A commission has also been appointed to enquire into the organisation and cost of Her Majesties Armies in India.

As we are on the eve of going to press the telegraph brings us the sad news of the death of Lord Lawrence.

The man of whom it may be said without hyperbole, that England owed to him a greater debt of gratitude than to any one who has lived within the memory of the present generation except Wellington, stands in need of no panegyric. If Lord Lawrence missed the highest rank as a statesman, it was in a great measure owing to that inflexibility of purpose and incapacity for compromise which were among the chief causes of his success as an administrator. Having, during a lengthened career of fervid activity, concentrated his entire energies in certain well-defined grooves, he lacked the breadth of view and the diffusiveness of sympathy needed for the government of a great and heterogeneous Empire. His special services will be remembered long after his viceroyalty is forgotten; and they were of so signal a character, that the most brilliant viceroyalty would have been but an anticlimax in the drama of his life.

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Life of Dr. John Wilson of Bombay. By George Smith, L.L.D.
London: John Murray.

THIS work will be welcomed by all who take an intelligent interest in India. It is not only a monument to one of the best and wisest of missionaries, but a work comprising great contrasts in the social history of the country. Dr. Wilson, who was, in the recollection of most of us, the chief among the residents of the Western Presidency, landed in Bombay just half-a-century ago, and lived and laboured there, almost incessantly, down to his death on Malabar Hill, at the end of 1875. Those who remember the *Friend of India* under Mr. Smith's management will be prepared for peculiarities of treatment from the religious and philanthropic points. Regarding Free-Kirk Calvinism as the appointed means of India's regeneration, the author fully sympathises with that side of his hero's character. He does not perhaps do quite equal justice to Dr. Wilson's enormous linguistic and archæologic accomplishments. But the venerable apostle was so consistent in making the work of an evangelist his main line of conduct, that Mr. Smith is justified in making its exhibition the chief purpose of his book. In the Appendix will be found an interesting and important letter called forth by inquiries from Lord Northbrook as to the state of native opinion at the time of the Baroda trial.

Basil Ormond and Christabel's Love. By Aliph Cheem, London: Thacker & Co.

TWO unpleasant stories pleasantly told. The author of *Lays of Ind.* is too well known for it to be necessary for us to say that he has a faculty for narrative and a facile flow of fairly accurate verse. In this little volume he shows all his familiar qualities with improvement in thought and manner. The two tales are in quatrains; one in iambic measure of the orthodox kind, the other in a rather difficult dactylic rhythm. In the former are some weak lines, in the latter a few that betray a want of care, and, possibly, a not too sensitive ear. Here are specimens of each:—

First.

In front of it a lawn, whose velvet rim
The water *kissed*, sloped down with gentle fall.
And skirting it a *flower* garden trim,
Closed from the meadows by vine-sheltering wall,

This is surely feeble ; and Aliph Cheem ought to know that "flower," in poetry, is a monosyllable.

Second.

Loving solitude more than the giddy crowd,
The thanks of the poor than the gallantry of the proud.

Third.

Bidden to motionless fixity ages past,
"Yellow-furzed, in undulations vast,"

It does not seem possible to scan the lines that we have noted in (2) and (3).

But the author shows that he can describe well both the aspects of Nature and the passions of human beings ; and the vehicle is far superior to the ordinary run of amateur rhymes. The many friends of the author still in India will watch the career of the ex-hussar in the arena of English literature with great interest.

Aryan Philology, according to the most recent Researches (Glottologia Aria recentissima). Remarks, Historical and Critical. By Domenico Pezzi, Membro della Facoltà di filosofia e lettere della R. università di Torino. Translated by E. S. Roberts, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. London: Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1879.

THE title of Domenico Pezzi's work is a misnomer. In the place of a general survey of the results of modern philology we are presented in it with only barren discussions on a number of technical questions towards the solution of which the author contributes little or nothing.

In his final chapter, after stating in a very imperfect way Schmidt's doctrine regarding the nature of the affinity existing between the languages of the Aryan stock, he says:—

"From the critical exposition which we have given of them, although in a very compendious form as befits this book, the result appears to us to be, that the most important among the arguments adduced by Schmidt, especially moreover the phonological argument which was the first we noticed, cannot be regarded as refuted so completely that Schmidt's theory has not the right to be considered at least as worthy of respect as the contrary doctrine. To pronounce a decisive opinion, if that will ever be possible, on such a question we must have a more complete investigation of the characteristics common to two or more Indo-European languages, among which should be especially noticed the manifestly new formations which appear to be identical or similar in some of them." This highly lucid and satisfactory conclusion is more or less typical of the entire book. Part I deals with sounds, roots, and

stems and words, but on none of these subjects does the author make any attempt at exhibiting the ascertained facts as a coherent whole; indeed, the general impression produced is that very little has been, or is ever likely to be, ascertained. The synthetical portion of the work, dealing with "The Primitive Aryan Language" and its derivatives, is equally wanting in definiteness and connexion. Almost the only categorical information we get regarding the Proto-Aryan tongue is "that there are reasons for believing (although it cannot be rigorously demonstrated) that Proto-Aryan was governed by tonic laws akin to those of Indian and Teutonic, in other words by the logical principle in such way that the accent strengthened by raising in that syllable (*sic*), whether belonging to root or to affix, which represented the conception most important for the speakers to emphasize, as that, which made a greater impression on their mind."

As a final example of the confused and even ungrammatical style of the translation, as well as of the studied ambiguity of the author's expressions of opinion, we may take the following remarks regarding the common origin of the Aryan and Semitic families:—

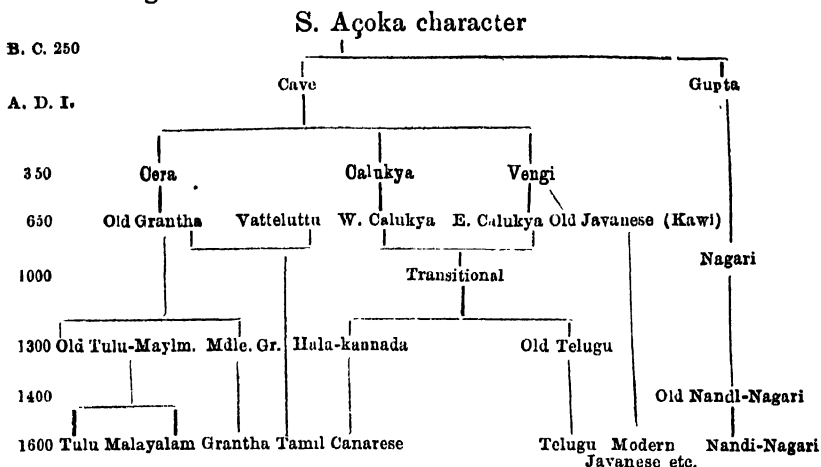
Among the reasons adduced for maintaining the descent of the Aryans from the people which in pre-historic times had its home in Asia, we find also the primitive affinity between Proto-Aryan and Proto-Semitic. True philology however, far from seeking in such affinity an indication which it might use with safety in its investigations, is still bound to subject to accurate and impartial examination, the results of the investigations instituted into the original relations between the two stocks of language. And from this examination it cannot but appear that, up to the present time, the science of language has not discovered such indications of kinship between Aryan and Semitic as are sufficient, by reason of their number and especially by reason of their weight, to render possible a strict demonstration of it. Morphological proofs, which would certainly be the strongest of all, have not been hitherto alleged in such abundance and of such a kind as to convince those who are least inclined to the hypotheses. The success of the comparisons between Aryan roots and Semitic roots appears, it is true, to have been greater: but with respect to the worth of these comparisons several considerations of no slight importance must be urged, which seem to be of a nature to diminish rather than to increase it. First of all it may be observed that the simple radical affinity leads us inevitably to assume with M. Müller that the fundamental Aryo-Semitic was an isolating language: and in fact, if it had had suffixes more or less closely connected with the roots, we should be bound to find traces of such elements identical to a great extent in the two stocks of language in question. Now that an isolating language can possibly be changed into the two most conspicuous classes of the inflexional languages is, as we have remarked above, a hypothesis rejected by several philologists, among whom it will suffice to mention Renan. Secondly, owing to the tri-consonantism of the Semitic roots, we are driven for the most part, before comparing them with the Indo-European roots, to attempt to reduce them to a simpler form: that this reduction may give rise to errors who would dare to deny? In the third place, the agreement of two languages together in the form and the meaning of two roots will always be of less importance than

their agreement in two suffixes of stem-formation or word-formation, because in this last case there is less danger of a simply fortuitous conformity. Lastly such comparisons assuredly cannot remove altogether that grave objection which is drawn from the various meaning of the vowel sounds in the Aryan and the Semitic roots. When to these considerations with respect to the formal and the material elements of Aryan and Semitic is (*sic*) added the observations made by F. Müller, (and before him by Renan) on the character of changeability which profoundly distinguishes the Aryan from the Semitic languages, revealing two opposing tendencies, it will be clearly evident what ought to be the conclusion of our discussion with regard to the difficult problem of the relations between these two most noble forms of human speech. To make the solution less difficult we consider it absolutely necessary to have completed also with regard to the Semitic languages that historical and comparative labour which has been undertaken for the Indo-European languages: in order to compare by a really scientific method the Aryan with the Semitic word, it is certainly necessary, in our opinion, first to reconstruct Proto-Semitic as Proto-Aryan has been reconstructed. And in all probability we shall not be able to exclude from this comparison the oldest Egyptian, which, according to Steinthal, exhibits the beginnings of flexion in the languages in which form is rightly conceived and expressed.—After what we have said about the original connexion of Aryan with Semitic it is hardly necessary to observe that, if no arguments have yet been brought forward for it sufficient for the purpose of a rigorous demonstration, a far less value in every way must be assigned to those supposed indications of pre-historic affinity between the Aryan and other linguistic stocks, which do not even belong to the class of languages commonly called inflexional.

Elements of South Indian Palæography from the Fourth to the Seventeenth Century, A. D., being an Introduction to the Study of South-Indian Inscriptions and M.S.S. By A. C. Burnell. Second enlarged and improved Edition. London: Trübner & Co., 57 and 59 Ludgate Hill, 1878.

THE progress made by Mr. Fleet and others during the past few years in the collection and study of Indian inscriptions led Mr. Burnell to publish a new edition of what is still the chief work of importance we possess on Indian palæography. Mr. Burnell's work is practically confined to Southern-India, to the old alphabets of which from the time of Asoka it forms, with its magnificent series of plates, a most complete guide. Since Prinsep deciphered the Southern Asoka character forty years ago, contributions to Indian palæography had been rare and insignificant. The materials on which Mr. Burnell's work is based were collected by him during several years, not only in various parts of India, but in Java, and, unless some remarkable discovery, as, for instance, of inscriptions of a period long anterior to those of Asoka, should be made it seems improbable that he has missed much of importance. That any characters specifically distinct from those reproduced and illustrated in the work before us, have enjoyed extended public currency during the period covered by it, is most unlikely.

Of the more technical part of the work we shall say but little. Mr. Burnell agrees with the best authorities in tracing all the South Indian alphabets, except the Vatteluttu to the South Asoka alphabet, as their progenitor; and he gives the following paradigm, as exhibiting the course of their descent:—



The S. Asoka alphabet itself he is disposed to derive from an Aramaic modification of the original Phœnician, rather than, as some would have it, from a Himyaritic modification, or direct from Phœnicia itself. As to the Vatteluttu alphabet he is inclined to see in it an independent adaptation of a foreign character, probably the Sassanian of the inscriptions, to a Sanskritic, as the S. Asoka was to a Dravidian, language.

The parts of Mr. Burnell's work which will most interest the general reader, are, perhaps, those which deal with the question of the probable date of the introduction of writing into India, and the writing materials used in South India.

Mr. Burnell is very decidedly of opinion that the use of writing in India is but little older than the Asoka inscriptions (250 B. C.). Certainly there is no positive evidence that points to a much earlier date, and the form of the S. Asoka character itself favours the supposition that it was modified from a comparatively modern variety of Phœnician. Still the conclusion is one which, all circumstances considered, we are disinclined to accept on merely negative evidence. The argument that the introduction of writing probably dates from the Buddhist period because the Brahmans were strongly opposed to its use, and would not allow it to be applied to their sacred books, can hardly be considered conclusive, as against the existence in India of a knowledge of writing, though it might explain

why we have no record of such knowledge in the form of inscriptions of an older date than Asoka. Against mere negative evidence we may fairly set strong probability. That a high state of civilisation and of literary culture existed in India long before Asoka's time, can hardly be disputed; that, at least some twelve centuries before that time, India held frequent commercial intercourse with nations among whom writing was in common use is undoubted; and we cannot but think it in a high degree improbable that, under these circumstances, so important and striking an art should have remained unknown in India to so late a date. Had writing been confined to the merchant class, as might not improbably have been the case, it would have left no trace, mercantile correspondence and accounts not being usually engraved on stone or brass.

We think, too, that Mr. Burnell lays too much stress on the presumed want of suitable materials for writing in the North of India before the introduction of paper, an event which probably did not take place till after the advent of the Muhammadans in the country. Cotton cloth must have been available at a very early period.

Turning to the chapter on the writing materials used in ancient times, we find the first place for books assigned to Bhurj-pattra, or Bhurj-bark, which is mentioned in the Amarkaosa, the Rughuvansa and other works. Then come the leaves of certain species of palm, still largely employed in South India.

"These leaves," says our author, "are used in two ways:—

(a) The letters are scratched on them with a style, and the lines thus formed are afterwards made clear by being filled with some black matter—powdered charcoal or lamp-black—rubbed in with some juicy vegetable stalk such as that of the yam. This is the most general way of writing on these leaves.

(b) The leaves are written on with a pen, and both black and red ink. This way of writing seems peculiar to the North of India and particularly to Cambay and Gujarat. I have met with some Jain MSS. written in this way in S.-W. India, but they had been brought from the North.

The use of palm-leaves, as material to write on, is certainly of considerable age in India, and from thence it spread to Ceylon and Indo-China. This use was probably common from the period of the introduction of writing into Eastern and Southern India, but it is not possible to fix the exact date.

In the seventh century, A. D., this material is repeatedly mentioned in the Life and Travels of Hiouen Tshang. According to these authorities the collection of the three pitaka made and circulated by Mahākāçyapa was written on tāla leaves, and at the time Hiouen Tshang visited India these leaves were in general use.

About 1030 A.D., Albīrūnī writes: " Dans le midi de l'Inde, il y a un arbre qui ressemble au palmier et au cocotier ; il produit un fruit bon à manger, et des feuilles d'une coudée de long et de trois travers de doigt de large : on appelle ces feuilles *tāry*. C'est sur ces feuilles qu'on écrit ; on pratique ensuite un trou au milieu, et l'on y fait passer une ficelle, qui retient les feuilles les unes contre les autres."

The early European travellers in the East all mention palm-leaf books as being in general use in India.

The oldest Indian MSS. known at present are on palm (*talipat*) leaves, but with the writing in ink. One of these discovered by Profr. Bühler is *d. Samv.*, 1189, or A. D. 1132, and is the oldest Indian MS. known. It is a MS. of the Jain *Avaçyakasūtra*. About this there need be no doubt. The next, which is dated 1151 or 1229 A. D., is so well preserved that it seems difficult to believe that it is not a copy of an older MS. with the date of the original left unchanged, as is often the case. The oldest palm-leaf MS. that I know of the first class is of A.D. 1428,

* * * It is a Canarese MS.

The third place is given to metal plates, the earliest mention of which occurs in the life and voyages of Hiouen Tshang, but which must have been available from the earliest period much more remote than the time of Asoka. The use of wooden boards for books appears to have been confined to Burmah, but "some of the Indian law-books mentioned a board as used by judges to reduce notes of pleadings into form ; this must have been a kind of black board, but I have not seen any thing of the kind in use. The *Lalitavistara* mentions sandalwood boards used in school, like slates."

Of prepared cloth, Mr. Burnell says :—"This is the earliest writing material in India so far as trustworthy historical information goes, for it is described by Nearchus, who says that the Brahmins wrote : *ἐν σινδόσι λίαν κεκροτημέναις* This is obviously the 'pata' or 'kārpāsika pata' of the Smritis and compilers of the Digests, and must, therefore, have been in use down to comparatively recent times, but I have not met with a specimen of it, nor have I anywhere met with a description of this substance."

The use of paper seems to be subsequent to the eleventh century, but in the South it was not adopted till quite recent times, and strict Hindus still entertain a prejudice against it. The earliest date on paper yet discovered is of 1310, A. D.

For letters Bhūrja-bark, palm-leaves, metal-plates and (in later times) paper were used. There is reason, however, to believe that stone was also used. For documents stone, plates of various metals, cotton cloth and palm leaves were employed.

The Birth of the War-God.—A Poem by Kālidāsa. Translated from the Sanskrit into English Verse. By Ralph T. H. Griffith, M. A., Principal of Benares College. London : Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1879.

MR. Griffith's reputation as a graceful translator of Sanskrit poetry is fully sustained by this poetical version of the Kumāra Sambhava of Kālidāsa. Though lacking both the idyllic beauty and the dramatic interest of the Sakuntala, the fragment of this poem which has come down to us abounds in passages of great pathos. Among these the Lament of Rati stands pre-eminent, and would alone have stamped its author as a poet of the highest order.

Mr. Griffith's translations possess the merit of preserving a large measure of the spirit of the original without being so literal as to repel the English reader. We could not give a better example of his success in this respect than the passage to which we have just referred :

SAD, solitary, helpless, faint, forlorn,
 Woke KAMA's darling from her swoon to mourn.
 Too soon her gentle soul returned to know
 The pangs of widowhood—that word of woe.
 Scarce could she raise her, trembling, from the ground,
 Scarce dared to bend her anxious gaze around,
 Unconscious yet those greedy eyes should never
 Feed on his beauty more—gone, gone for ever.
 “Speak to to me, KAMA! why so silent? give
 One word in answer—doth my KAMA live?”
 There on the turf his dumb cold ashes lay,
 Whose soul that fiery flash had scorched away.
 She clasped the dank earth in her wild despair,
 Her bosom stained, and rent her long bright hair.
 Till hill and valley caught the mourner's cry,
 And pitying breezes echoed sigh for sigh.
 “Oh thou wast beautiful : fond lovers sware
 Their own bright darlings were like KAMA, fair.
 Sure woman's heart is stony ; can it be
 That I still live while this is all of thee ?
 Where art thou, KAMA ? Could my dearest leave
 His own fond RATI here alone to grieve ?
 So must the sad forsaken lotus die
 When her bright river leaves his channel dry.
 KAMA, dear KAMA, call again to mind
 How thou wast ever gentle, I was kind.
 Let not my prayer, thy RATI's prayer, be vain ;
 Come as of old and bless these eyes again !
 Wilt thou not hear me ? Think of those sweet hours
 When I would bind thee with my zone of flowers,
 Those soft gay fetters o'er thee fondly wreathing,
 Thine only punishment when gently breathing
 In tones of love thy heedless sigh betrayed

The name, dear traitor ! of some rival maid.
 Then would I pluck a floweret from my tress
 And beat thee till I forced thee to confess,
 While in my play the falling leaves would cover
 The eyes—the bright eyes—of my captive lover.
 And then those words that made me, oh, so blest—
 “ Dear love, thy home is in my faithful breast ! ”
 Alas, sweet words too blissful to be true,
 Or how couldst thou have died, nor RATI perish too ?

Now will I hie me to the fatal pile,
 And ere heaven's maids have hailed thee with a smile,
 Or on my love their winning glances thrown,
 I will be there, and claim thee for mine own.
 Yet though I come, my lasting shame will be
 That I have lived one moment after thee.
 Ah, how shall I thy funeral rites prepare,
 Gone soul and body to the viewless air ?
 With thy dear SPRING I've seen thee talk and smile,
 Shaping an arrow for thy bow the while.
 Where is he now, thy darling friend, the giver
 Of many a bright sweet arrow for thy quiver ?
 Is he too sent upon death's dreary path,
 Scorched by the cruel God's inexorable wrath ?

“ Turn, gentle friend, thy weeping eyes, and see
 That dear companion who was all to me.
 His crumbling dust with which the breezes play,
 Bearing it idly in their course away,
 White as the silver feathers of a dove,
 Is all that's left me of my murdered love,

Now come, my KAMA ; SPRING, who was so
 dear,
 Longs to behold thee. Oh, appear, appear !
 Fickle to women, LOVE perchance may bend
 His ear to listen to a faithful friend.
 Remember, he walked ever at thy side
 O'er gloomy meadows in the warm spring-tide,
 That Gods above, and men, and fiends below
 Should own the empire of thy mighty bow,
 That ruthless bow, which pierces to the heart,
 Strung with a lotus-thread, a flower its dart.
 As dies a torch when winds sweep roughly by,
 So is my light for ever fled, and I,
 The lamp his cheering rays no more illumine,
 Am wrapt in darkness, misery and gloom.
 Fate took my love, and spared the widow's breath,
 Yet fate is guilty of a double death.
 When the wild monster tramples on the ground
 The tree some creeper garlands closely round,
 Reft of the guardian which it thought so true,
 Forlorn and withered, it must perish too.
 Then come, dear friend, the true one's pile prepare,
 And send me quickly to my husband there.
 Call it not vain : the mourning lotus dies

When the bright Moon, her lover, quits the skies.
 When sinks the red cloud in the purple west,
 Still clings his bride. the lightning, to his breast,
 All nature keeps the eternal high decree :
 Shall woman fail ! I come, my love to thee !
 Now on the pile my faint limbs will I throw,
 Clasping his ashes, lovely even so,—
 As if beneath my weary frame were spread
 Soft leaves and blossoms for a flowery bed.
 And oh, dear comrade (for in happier hours
 Oft have I heaped a pleasant bed of flowers
 For thee and him beneath the spreading tree),
 Now quickly raise the pile for Love and me
 And in thy mercy gentle breezes send
 To fan the flame that wafts away thy friend,
 And shorten the sad moments that divide
 Impatient KAMA from his RATI's side ;
 Set water near us in a single urn,
 We'll sip in heaven from the same in turn ;
 And let thine offering to his spirit be
 Sprays fresh and lovely from the mango tree,
 Culled when the round young buds beging to swell,
 For KAMA loved those fragrant blossoms well."

Not less successful is Mr. Griffith's rendering of the " Address to Brahma," which possesses independently a high philosophic interest :

Then nearer came the suppliant Gods to pay
 Honours to him whose face turns every way.
 They bowed them low before the Lord of Speech,
 And sought with truthful words his heart to reach :—
 Glory to Thee ! before the world was made,
 One single form thy Majesty displayed.
 Next Thou, to body forth the mystic Three,
 Didst fill three Persons : Glory, Lord, to Thee !
 Unborn and unbegotten ! from thy hand
 The fruitful seed rained down ; at thy command
 From that small germ o'er quickening waters thrown
 All things that move not, all that move have grown.
 Before thy triple form in awe they bow :
 Maker, preserver, and destroyer, Thou !
 Thou, when a longing urged thee to create,
 Thy single form in twain didst separate.
 The Sire, the Mother that made all things be
 By their first union, were but parts of Thee.
 From them the life that fills this earthly frame,
 And fruitful Nature, self-renewing came.
 Thou countest not thy time by mortals' light ;
 With Thee there is but one vast day and night.
 When BRAHMA slumbers fainting Nature dies,
 When BRAHMA wakens all again arise.
 Creator of the world, and uncreate !
 Endless ! all things from Thee their end await.
 Before the world wast Thou each Lord shall fall
 Before Thee, mightiest, highest, Lord of all.

Thy self-taught soul thine own deep spirit knows ;
 Made by thyself thy mighty form arose ;
 Into the same, when all things have their end,
 Shall thy great self, absorbed in Thee, descend.
 Lord, who may hope thy essence to declare ?
 Firm, yet as subtile as the yielding air :
 Fix't, all-pervading : ponderous yet light,
 Patent to all, yet hidden from the sight.
 Thine are the sacred hymns which mortals raise,
 Commencing ever with the word of praise
 With three-toned chant the sacrifice to grace,
 And win at last in heaven a blissful place.
 They hail Thee Nature labouring to free
 The Immortal Soul from low humanity ;
 Hail Thee the stranger Spirit, unimpressed,
 Gazing on Nature from thy lofty rest.
 Father of fathers, God of gods art thou,
 Creator, highest, hearer of the vow !
 Thou art the sacrifice, and Thou the priest :
 Thou, he that eateth ; Thou, the holy feast.
 Thou art the knowledge which by Thee is taught,
 The mighty thinker, and the highest thought !"

The *Kumara Sambhava* originally consisted, according, to the testimony of tradition, of twenty-two cantos, of which Mr. Griffith presents us with the seven that up to a very recent date were believed to be all that were extant. The text chiefly used by the translator is that edited by Professor Stenzler, and published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund.

With reference to the manner in which he has performed his task, Mr. Griffith says :—" Though there is much, I think, that might be struck out, to the advantage of the poem, this I have in no instance ventured to do, my aim having been to give the English reader as faithful a cast of the original as my own power and the nature of things would permit, and, without attempting to give word for word or line for line, to produce upon the imagination impressions similar to those which one who studies the work in Sanskrit would experience."

A Manual of the Geology of India. Chiefly compiled from the Observations of the Geological Survey. By H. B. Medlicott, M. A., Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, and W. T. Blanford, A.R.S.M., F.R.S., Deputy Superintendent. Published by order of the Government of India, Calcutta. Sold at the Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing ; Geological Survey Office ; and by all Booksellers. London : Trübner and Co.

THE geological examination of India, though still very far from complete, has reached a stage, when, if the results achieved are to be made available to geological students, it is highly

necessary that some sort of compendium of what is on record should be published. Not only are the Memoirs and Records of the Survey far too voluminous to admit of being consulted by the general student with advantage, but there is a large amount of information on the subject scattered through numerous Indian and European publications which is practically inaccessible to the world at large, or accessible only at the cost of a disproportionate amount of labour and inconvenience. To meet this want the present Manual has been prepared under the directions of the Government of India.

Though the work is far from exhaustive, and one important branch of the subject, that of economic geology, is left to be dealt with in a future volume, its compilation must have cost Messrs Medlicott and Blanford an immense amount of labour. Both gentlemen, having worked on the survey almost from its commencement, have been able to bring their own personal observation to bear on many portions of the subject; and, though the work is in the main a compilation, it is one in which the judgment and scientific acumen of the compilers has been constantly called into play in the sifting of data and conclusions. Altogether the work has been admirably executed, and will form a most important contribution to geological literature.

Vol. I deals with the geology of the Peninsular area and Indo-Gangetic plain, while vol. II is devoted to the extra-peninsular area, including Sind; the Panjab Hills, west of the Jhelam; the Himalayas; Assam, &c., and Burmah. A very useful glossary of technical terms and an admirably executed series of lithographic plates of fossils and stone implements, by Messrs. Schaunberg and Sedgfield, close the work, which is accompanied by a splendid geological map.

The Zemindary Settlement of Bengal. In two volumes. Calcutta: Brown & Co.

HITHERTO it has been generally supposed that the greatest loser by the Permanent Settlement was the State, which was not only debarred by it from claiming any share in the future increase of the soil, but condemned to see its own share steadily diminish, both absolutely and comparatively, as the produce of the land increased in value. According to the author of the work before us, however, it is the rayat who has been the chief loser by Lord Cornwallis' great blunder and the construction subsequently placed on the earlier Regulations by the Legislature. The rayat, he maintains, and neither the zemindar nor the State, was the proprietor of the soil before the Settlement, and what was transferred to the zemindars was merely an office together with "a gross amount of permanently limited demand." The decla-

ration that certain zemindars were actual proprietors was a mere "legal fiction." But, more than this, the writer contends that the intention of Lord Cornwallis was not merely that the rent payable by the khudkasht rayat of the day should be limited to the pergunnah rate, plus the abwabs then paid, but that the same limitation should extend also to pykasht rayats and those who might bring waste lands into cultivation in the future. He holds, in short, that under the permanent settlement, as it was intended to be construed by its framer, not only did any increase in the value of the land then cultivated, that might accrue otherwise than through the agency or expense of the zemindar, belong to the rayat, but any increase in the value of land not then cultivated belonged neither to the State nor to the zemindar, but to the first rayat, it may be then unborn, who might at any subsequent period, cultivate it. Beyond expressing our opinion that this proposition is equally opposed to equity, to common sense, and to historical evidence, and that the evidence adduced by the writer in support of it, whatever *prima facie* force it may possess, is entirely one-sided, it is impossible for us, in the brief time and space at our disposal, to join issue with the writer. The proposition once accepted, it follows, as a matter of course, that, as the writer contends, the permanent settlement was broken by Act X of 1859, though, as a matter of fact, so far as that measure altered the law and custom actually prevailing when it was passed, the balance of injury done by it was inflicted on the zemindar. There is no question in our minds that, whatever may have been the position of the zemindars in 1789, a position which, we believe, differed greatly in different parts of the Lower Provinces, the permanent settlement was intended to confer on them a qualified proprietary right, or that it left them unfettered as regards the settlement of lands then waste.

On the other hand, it is unquestionable that, owing to a multitude of causes, and mainly owing to the laches of the zemindars themselves, the permanent settlement has failed to realise the grand economic and social objects for which it was established. Instead of leading to the improvement of landed property and the amelioration of the condition of the tenantry, it has resulted in a process of subinfeudation equally incompatible with either, and tending to divert a maximum of the produce from the mouths of productive, to those of unproductive, consumers.

Not long since we had a scheme put forward by Mr. Hector for regenerating the interest of the State in the land of Bengal by buying out the zemindars, with the object, not of fixing in perpetuity the rent payable by the rayat, but of enabling the Government to appropriate its just share of any

future increase in the value of the soil that might accrue independently of the rayat's exertions. The present writer also proposes to buy out the zemindars, or, as he describes it, to redeem the Bengal rayat's dues, but for the purpose of fixing the rents of the rayats at the rates now demandable from them, and thus securing to them in perpetuity, to the exclusion of both State and zemindar, the whole future increase in the value of the soil, unearned as well as earned.

He assumes that 208 millions gross would suffice to redeem existing rents, from which 73 millions, capitalised land revenue; and a considerable sum on account of unauthorised cesses; excessive rents and the like, would have to be deducted, leaving less than 100 millions sterling as the cost of the operation. As to the way in which this sum might be provided, he says:—

Following the example of the European States which have liberated their cultivators of the land, the money for redeeming the dues to Zemindars might be provided in paper, namely, in bonds to be issued to the Zemindars; but as the entire Public Debt of India, bearing interest in both England and India, may be reckoned at 143 millions, would not the issue of a stock of 100 millions sterling depreciate Indian securities? England and the British rule in India are jointly responsible for the present unsatisfactory condition of Bengal, and of the relations between zemindar and ryots; and they must jointly take the bull by the horns, and pay off existing Public Debt in India, by measures which would, for many years to come, supersede the existing Rupee Debt in India by a new sterling Loan in London; in that case, the payment of zemindars by bonds would not cause any difficulty.

In discharge of weighty moral obligations, and without real or more than nominal risk, England might guarantee a loan for India to the extent required for redemption of ryots' dues. As the full amount would be eventually recovered from the ryots, and the recoveries would be appropriable for gradually extinguishing the guaranteed Loan, England's guarantee would diminish yearly, after provision of the full amount of loan, and would cease within the term of the next generation. The English Government might, however, be asked to agree to an arrangement by which the full advantage of the Imperial guarantee on the whole amount of the guaranteed loan, might be continued to India throughout the period of liquidation of the ryots' debt to Government, on the condition that the sinking fund formed from ryots' repayments of capital is invested in Indian securities. By observing this condition the guaranteed stock could eventually be withdrawn in bulk, or in three or four instalments, by the issue of unguaranteed stock.

The 200 millions sterling of guaranteed loan would not be wanted at once; the redemption of ryots' dues would be gradual; if, when the work is in full swing, it proceeded at the rate of 10 or 12 millions sterling a year, that would perhaps be considered very satisfactory progress. France raised 220 millions sterling for the War Indemnity in two years. The Imperial guarantee of the English Government would ensure 200 millions sterling, at not more than 3½ per cent. interest, if spread over twelve or fourteen years.

The gross amount required for paying the zemindars would, at the outside, be 135 millions sterling, *plus* the 73 millions of capitalised land revenue

which they would have to return; total 208 millions gross. As already observed, the progress of redemption of ryots' dues would be gradual, so that recoveries from ryots who have redeemed their payments would be concurrent with outlay in other districts for fresh redemption. In this way, in the long run, the actual guaranteed loan would not exceed 200 millions sterling.

The assets for meeting the obligations to be guaranteed by the British Government would be the capitalised land revenue, recoveries from ryots, and a surplus of yearly revenue over expenditure which would incidentally ensue from the redemption measures. This last being assured, as will be presently seen, and on the condition that these assets would be reserved for discharging the imperial guarantee, the loan under that guarantee might proceed at the rate of 15 millions sterling a year, irrespective of the actual yearly progress of the redemption measure, while the honour of the Indian Government would be committed to maintaining satisfactory progress.

The 15 millions sterling of yearly borrowing under the imperial guarantee could be applied in payment of home charges. It would thus liberate 19 crores of rupees yearly for the extinction of a corresponding amount of the Public Debt in India—with the two results that loss by exchange to the amount of 4 millions sterling a year would cease, and the 4 per cent. Government securities of the existing Indian stocks would rise above par. Of the saving of 4 millions sterling in loss by exchange, a portion would cover present deficit or prevent new taxation; but the bulk would, as a saving from the redemption measure, be strictly appropriated to the reduction of debt, or to providing without fresh borrowing for the 2 millions a year of Productive Public Works expenditure.

In issuing stock to zemindars, the amount of the issue might be restricted by issuing it at a high rate of interest namely, 6 per cent., guaranteed for a fixed period. In theory, if two stocks bear, respectively, 4 and 6 per cent. interest, each in perpetuity, the 6 per cent. stock would command a premium of only 50 per cent. compared with the 4 per cent stock; but in practice, where the perpetuity of the stock bearing the lower interest is not assured, while the higher interest on the other stock is guaranteed for a fixed term, the latter commands a proportionately higher premium than that obtainable with the common perpetuity of the two stocks. Thus if the interest on 4 and 4½ per cent. stocks respectively, were alike perpetual, the 4½ per cent stock would command a premium of 12½ per cent.; whereas the ordinary difference between the market values of 4 and 4½ per cent. stock, of which the latter is guaranteed for only 14 years, is 5 or 5½ per cent., the premium or difference being the present value of the yearly amount of the extra interest for the number of years for which it is guaranteed. With this fact we may, for the matter in hand, couple the consideration that with the temporary help of a 3½ per cent. loan, under the imperial guarantee, for paying off the existing loans which bear 4 per cent. or higher interest, the perpetuity of 4 per cent., as the lowest interest for Indian stock, is by no means assured; on completion of the operations here discussed, including the eventual repayment of the loan under the imperial guarantee, future unguaranteed Indian loans would bear less than 4 per cent. interest. Indeed, the average price of 4 per cent. India stock, in London, in 1874, gave a return of only 3·82 per cent.

Coupling, then, these two considerations, namely, the guarantee of 6 per cent. interest for a fixed period, and the strong probability that the rate of interest on Indian loans would settle down at below 4 per cent. a year, zemindars might be paid in bonds bearing 6 per cent. interest, in respect

of which that rate of interest may be guaranteed for a period so fixed that the stock would, on its issue, command a premium of 50 or 40 per cent., the 4 per cent. being then at a premium, under the influences in para. 18. Hence to a zemindar who has to receive 7 lakhs as compensation, the Government (with 6 per cent. paper at a premium of 40 per cent.) could tender, as full discharge, 5 lakhs of paper bearing 6 per cent. interest, for, by selling it in the market, he could realise 7 lakhs. We have assumed that the compensation payable to zemindars, &c., would amount to 135 millions. In this manner, the actual issue of stock could be restricted to 96 millions, or about two-thirds of the present amount (143 millions) of the Public Debt of India, at home and in this country, which will have been paid off during the operation.

There would be great gain to Government, without loss to anybody, from the issue of 6 per cent. stock. The zemindar as we have seen, would get full value for his estate by selling the stock. In paying 6 per cent. on the stock issued to the zemindar to the extent of two-thirds amount value of his estate, the Government would not lose, because the ryot would pay the whole of that interest in the rate of 4 per cent. on the full amount value of the zemindary. On the contrary, the Government would gain, because on expiration of the period for which 6 per cent. interest is guaranteed, the Government, by reduction of the interest from 6 to 4 per cent., or less, would continue liable for only two-thirds, or four-sevenths, the amount value of the zemindaries instead of for the whole value, which latter liability would attach to the issue of 4 per cent. instead of 6 per cent. stock to the zemindar. At the end of the period for which 6 per cent. interest may have been assured, the Government would gain 45 or 39 millions sterling, on the assumption of 135 millions as the full value of the compensation to zemindars which Government will have discharged with 90 or 96 millions of 6 per cent. stock; the extra 2 per cent. of interest having been paid in the interval by the ryots in the reckoning of their debt at 4 per cent. on the full value of the estate.

The main features of the scheme are thus summarised:—

I.—ZEMINDARS—

' MILLIONS STERLING.				
To receive 13 millions	×	16 years' purchase	=	208
„ pay 3½ „	×	20 „	„	= 73

135 in 6% paper = 96.

II.—VILLAGE BANKERS TO RECEIVE—

In cash, say ...	...	...	...	73 see Chapter XII.
Balance in 4% bonds	...	...	...	x

III.—RYOTS TO PAY TO GOVERNMENT—

- (a). 208 millions at 4% for redeeming dues to zemindars.
- (b). 18 „ or loss on capitalising land revenue at 20 instead of 25 years' purchase. In the text recovery has been stated in the form of 1 per cent. a year on 208 millions, but it would be so adjusted as to cease on recovery of 18 millions with interest at 4 per cent. a year.
- (c). 73 millions towards cash payments to village bankers, plus x millions of balance of ryots' debts, settled by Government bonds to bankers.

IV.—GOVERNMENT TO BORROW—

		MILLIONS STERLING.	
		Cash,	Paper.
Under Imperial Guarantee	...	208	...
To issue in 6 % bonds to zemindars	...		90
„ „ in 4 % bonds to village bankers	...		x

V.—GOVERNMENT TO APPLY PROCEEDS OF IV FOR—

Paying off village bankers in cash	... 73
„ „ existing debts (out of 130 millions	
—remainder being paid of yearly surplus of revenue)	... 135

VI.—FINANCIAL RESULT—Government will

(1). Have paid off imperial guaranteed loan, on recovery of 208 millions from ryots, partly by issue of unguaranteed stock bearing interest at 4 per cent. or less, and the remainder in cash by the appropriation of capitalised land revenue and other surplus assets.

(2). Have paid off 143 millions of existing debt.

(3). Have outstanding 96 millions of bonds issued to zemindars at 6 per cent. interest, but reduced by the end of the redemption operation to 4 per cent. ; Government gaining 39 millions.

(4). Have paid off 96 millions of other debt, as a set-off to 3, on receiving III $b + c$ from ryots.

Administrative Rules for the Protection of Antiquarian Remains in India. Memorandum. By H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.I.E., F.S.A., M.R.A.S. etc.

Administrative Rules for the Preservation of Antiquarian Remains in India. Memorandum No. 2. By H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.S., C.I.E., F.S.A., M.R.A.S., etc.

IN these two Memoranda, Mr. Rivett-Carnac has very opportunely called public attention to the increasing necessity that exists for the framing by Government of suitable rules for the preservation of antiquarian remains in India.

Notwithstanding the interest that the Government of India has always shown in the work of archaeological research, the preservation of the architectural remains and inscriptions scattered over the country has hitherto, except in a few special instances, been left entirely to chance. Under the most favourable circumstances the absolute liberty of appropriation or destruction thus left to all comers in respect of relics which, though they may be of priceless value to science, are commonly no man's property, must have proved disastrous, and the wonder is, not that so much should have been lost, but that anything should still remain. Now that India has been opened up to the tourist, a new motive for spoliation has been introduced. "Hangers-on," says the writer of the Memoranda, "may now be found at many Indian hotels, who devote a portion of the dull season to grubbing up the antiquarian relics of the neighbourhood, and who display, and descant on the value of, their spoils in the verandahs of Indian hotels during the tourist months. There is nothing too cumbrous in the shape of an inscription or figure for the rich, cultivated tourist to collect, and to my certain knowledge figures, inscriptions, and bas-reliefs, whether of much real value I cannot say, have been carried away,

and are being carried out of the country, by tourists, together with the investments of Benares toys, brass trays, and Delhi jewellery."

To the ravages of the ignorant or unscrupulous builder in search of cheap materials, who from time immemorial has been the natural enemy of architectural remains, have of late years, too, been added those of the road or railway contractor, only too ready to avail himself of the nearest material that will serve for ballast and can be had for the cost of carting it. In a late tour from Kanhpur to Fatehgarh, Mr. Rivett-Carnac came across a particularly flagrant case of wholesale destruction of this kind. On arrival at the ruins of Kanauj, he says, "we found a gang of labourers employed in excavating the mound to the east of the *Serai*, and it was at first supposed that a party, under the direction of the Archæological Survey, was examining one of the sites noticed by General Cunningham in his report. Subsequent enquiry showed, however, that the excavations were conducted by the Mohammedan proprietor of the mound. He was not interested in antiquarian research, but had taken a sub-contract for ballast for the railway now in progress between Fatehgarh and Cawnpore, and which will run within a mile and a half of Kanauj, and will be carried along its whole length close to many of the old *kheras* with which the country-side abounds.

Some of the sculptures had been and were being broken up for ballast, which, inasmuch as the specification lays down that no piece shall exceed two inches in size, ensures the utter destruction of any carvings used for the purpose. Subsequently it was ascertained that what had recently been commenced at Kanauj itself had been carried on, and was being carried on, all along the line. The proprietors or the sub-contractors had discovered a mine of wealth in these long undisturbed *kheras*. What it would have cost an amateur thousands of rupees to excavate, and what would have been too expensive a work for even the Archæological Department to undertake, was a remunerative task enough to the sub-contractor."

This outrage, for it is nothing else, has since been stopped, through the interference of Mr. Watts, the Collector of Fatehgarh, aided by the good feeling of Mr. Laing, the contractor; but there is nothing to prevent similar spoliation taking place elsewhere; and it, no doubt, takes place wherever and whenever the opportunity occurs.

What Mr. Rivett-Carnac urges is, that antiquarian remains, unless other well-established interests exist, should be considered to be State property, and should be brought under the protection and management of the State, in the manner that Sir J. Lubbock's Act suggests, or as is provided for in the French system

of administration of "*Monuments Nationaux*"; and that, save under permission from competent authority, no one should be allowed to collect, dig or demolish on any such ground, or to remove or place to his private use, any specimen or relic that may be discovered.

We trust that the subject will not be allowed to drop, and that the Government of India will put forth its authority to prevent further Vandalism.

The Life of Alexander Duff, D. D., L.L. D.—By George Smith, C. I. E., L.L. D., Author of "*The Life of John Wilson, D. D., F. R. S.*," Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Statistical Societies, etc. In two volumes, with portraits by Jeens. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THE first volume of this work, which promises to be a worthy record of the career of the great Scotch missionary, has come to hand too late for detailed notice in the present number of the *Review*. It tells the story of the first six and thirty years of Dr. Duff's life, and appears, from what we have read of it, to be as admirable in style as it is appreciative in spirit.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Krishna Kant's Will.—By Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. Printed and Published by Radha Nath Bandyopadhyaya at the Banga Darsan Press, Kantalparra: 1878.

Krishna Kant Roy and Ram Kant Roy were two brothers, who acquired large estates yielding an income of nearly two lacs of rupees a year. The former had two sons, Haralal and Binodlal, and one daughter; the latter, one son, Govindlal. Ram Kant died before his brother. Krishna Kant made a will, with the provisions of which his eldest son Haralal was dissatisfied. Haralal in fact, demanded of his father the absolute disinherison of his cousin, Govindlal, which his father, a very just and right-minded man, would not consent to. Haralal, thereupon, did something that greatly offended his father, who cancelled his first will and replaced it by another still more unfavorable to his spoilt and wayward son. That son now entered into an intrigue with a young and beautiful widow named Rohini for stealing Krishna Kant's second will, and putting in its place a will forged after his own heart. Rohini, who had her own motive for entering into the intrigue, accomplished the feat with consummate skill and marvellous daring. Her motive, however, was not to benefit Haralal, but to oblige his cousin, Govindlal, for whom she had already conceived an ungovernable passion. Govindlal, without know-

ing anything about this intrigue, had suffered himself to be drawn towards this vicious girl in a manner unworthy of himself and unworthy of the man who had such an angel of a wife as Bhramara. Rohini, who had not yet delivered up Krishna Kant's will to Haralal, now felt that the forged will, if it prevailed, would make her Govindlal a beggar, and she, accordingly, resolved to repeat her daring attempt, but this time for the purpose of putting the genuine will in the place of the one that had been forged. This second attempt, however, was not so successful as the first; and Rohini was arrested by Krishna Kant. The circumstances attending Rohini's release excited very grave suspicions in Krishna Kant's mind in relation to Govindlal. Govindlal, in fact, was now slipping a little too fast towards the "deep of vice," and he soon became the subject of gossip throughout his village. His uncle, Krishna Kant heard all this; his incomparable Bhramara heard all this; Krishna Kant, who was now on his death-bed, cancelled his second will, and died, after making a third, absolutely disinheriting Govindlal and constituting Bhramara his sole heiress. This gave Govindlal a pretext for breaking off with Bhramara. With exquisite grace and loyalty Bhramara offered to re-convey all her property to Govindlal and even executed a deed of gift unto that end in his favor. But nothing could now restrain the storm of passion that was raging in the young man's heart. Kicking away from him the little airy, fairy, angelic thing that loved him so well and so truly, and whom he had once himself loved so deeply, Govindlal went with his mother to Benares and from thence to—no one knew where! This much only was known, that Rohini was not in the village. Poor Bhramara—artless, simple, faithful, full of love—now took to her sick-bed. Her illness increased in gravity, but she was all resignation and calmness. Many months had now passed away. Bhramara's father, Madhavi Nath, could no longer remain inactive. From inquiries in the village post office he obtained some clue to Govindlal's whereabouts, and, accompanied by his friend Nisakara he went to Prasadpur in Jessore. Govindlal and Rohini were living there in an infamous style. Nisakara, taking advantage of Rohini's vicious disposition, inveigled her into a situation in which discovery was sure to be followed by suspicion. The plan succeeded. Rohini was detected by Govindlal and shot through the head. After some years of concealment Govindlal was arrested and placed on his trial. Bhramara heard this and sent her father, with a large sum of money, to her husband's assistance. The prosecution failed and Govindlal was discharged. But he returned not to his Bhramara for shame. He continued

to stay in Calcutta. In the meantime Bhramara was fast sinking. The fatal day arrived—the day which Bhramara had foreseen seven years before. In a bright moonlit night, on the bed which seven years before had been the bed of conjugal joy, in the room which Bhramara had not entered during those seven dreary years of insufferable agony, in the presence of her beloved sister, Yamini, with her hands on the feet of her adored Govindlal (brought home by the fatal news), and praying to be forgiven by him whom she had worshipped as her deity on earth, this little angelic being terminated her sorrows and her sufferings. Govindlal, who had never cast Bhramara out of his heart, now lost his reason. He was now full of sighs and strange hallucinations. He had killed and survived Rohini. But the thought of Bhramara dying broken-hearted at his feet was too much. It was maddening agony. And in a fit of madness Govindlal entered the waters from which, seven years before, in an ill-fated moment, he had rescued poor Rohini! His nephew Sachikant built a temple, and in that temple placed an image of Bhramara in gold, and at the foot of that image inscribed the following Ode —

“যে সুখে দুঃখে, দোষে গুণে ভ্রমরের সমান
হইবে, আমি তাহাকে এই স্বর্ণ
প্রতিমা প্রদান করিব।”

This is a brief and lifeless outline of a story which Babu Bankim Chandra has told with immense power and skill. In point of structure, it is admirable. It is plain and compact from beginning to end. It does not branch out this way or that, but runs on with perfect directness to its fitting close. It does not contain a single element of improbability; it does not present any thing in an exaggerated form. It consists of incidents, every one of which might well occur in real life. The only thing that appears romantic in it is the mental element which forms its chief substratum. Rohini is a piece of romance, and so is Bhramara. But they are romances of two very different types. Rohini is romantic because she has become a widow in early youth. Social injustice has crushed in her the sense of personal justice. It is because society has ignored her that she ignores Bhramara and society in general. She cares for no one but herself, because no one cares for her. She does not recognise the rights of others because others do not recognise her rights. She thinks herself alone in the world and feels that the whole world was made for her. This is one species of romance—not absolutely justifiable, not altogether without a justification; vicious in tendency, dangerous in influence; anti-social in spirit. It is to a certain extent the creation of society, and society is

therefore under an obligation to remove its justifying causes. To prove this is, perhaps, Bankim Chandra's chief object in the introduction of Rohini into his story. For he is one of the few Bengali authors who seem to us to execrate the idea of introducing mere wantonness into a literary work. Whenever he exhibits vice, he shows that there is some social justification for it and presents it to the reader as a serious social problem. The other romance is Bhramara. If you analyse Bhramara, you will find that she consists of elements the very opposite of those which make up Rohini. Rohini is all for herself; Bhramara is all for others. Rohini sees only herself; Bhramara sees only others. Rohini knows only her own rights; Bhramara knows only the rights of others. And if at any time Bhramara seems to say that she has a right which has been disregarded, she speaks not the language of self, but the language of indignant virtue. For, of a truth, she and virtue look one and the same. It is for all this that the two romances in this charming story have become so dissimilar. The romance of Rohini is grossly material; the romance of Bhramara is sublimely spiritual. We read the former with mere philosophic interest; we read the latter with deep moral enthusiasm. We regard the former as a little Epicurean lyric; we regard the latter as a great world-epic. We can at the best pity Rohini, and that is why we have called her "poor" Rohini; we are satisfied with nothing short of adoring Bhramara. But Bhramara is Bhramara because there is Rohini. We love light because there is darkness. But the light that dazzles is painful to the eye, because it darkens instead of illuminating. Virtue, indeed, looks brighter than itself by the side of vice. But when virtue becomes dazzlingly bright by immolating itself before the despotism of vice, she converts the world into a moral desert in which humanity breathes with pain and difficulty. It is a positive misfortune to man to lose his Bhramaras for the sake of his Rohinis. Society should therefore do all that it can to prevent the formation of Rohinis. To teach this is, we think, the object of *Krishna Kant's Will*.

The story, as we have said, has been told with immense power and skill. The descriptive power displayed in it is really of a very high order, and the amount of colouring which marks most of the writer's descriptions shows that he is rich in true poetical fancy. But greater than this descriptive power is the dramatic power with which the story has been worked out. Babu Bankim Chandra seems to be a master-hand in the delineation of love. Regarded whether as a holy sentiment or as an unholy passion, he seems to know everything about it. Whether growing or declining, his picture of it is the very truth itself. He shows

the manner of its working with a skill and dramatic precision that challenge our admiration. His lovers are characters in actual flesh and blood. They are not semblances but realities. They live and move and breathe. And there is one thing particularly interesting in his delineation of love. He can delineate it not only as it is felt, or not felt, all over the world, but as it is felt or not felt in Hindustan. He seems to know the Hindu woman with perfect accuracy, and his female lovers strike us as marvellously faithful creations. The love of the Hindu woman is not without an element of fatalism in its composition. Indeed, it is this element, combined with profound loyalty, that makes it the peculiar thing that it really is—a mysterious inspiration, a faith, a religion, a creed. This is why the Hindu female lover is something more than a human being—a seer, a prophetess a sybil who pronounces strange, awful verdicts and seldom finds them unfulfilled. Bhramara is a sybil and Bankim's philosophical creed includes many more things "than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

But what is this *Krishna Kant's Will*—a novel or a poem? Babu Bankim Chandra's countrymen call him a novelist. We fear, however, this verdict is not quite correct. Babu Bankim Chandra's works are no doubt written in the form of novels, and possess some of the characteristics of that class of compositions. In *Krishna Kant's Will*, for instance, are peeps into Hindu female life which could not have been taken in a work cast in the pure poetic mould. The form and manner of narration too are such as suit a novel and not a poem. But the spirit of all these works is poetic, and in them the poet clearly predominates over the novelist. If they can be at all considered as novels, they are novels rather of the French than of the English type. But English novels are more worthy of the name than French novels. Dickens is certainly a fuller and more correct novelist than Victor Hugo. Bankim Chandra is therefore more a poet than a novelist. And if the character and status of a work may be best determined by the spirit and element which predominate in it, we should say that the productions of this writer are not novels but poems in prose. They could not indeed be otherwise. Novels can only be produced by practical minds in a profoundly practical condition of society. There could be no novels in English before the commencement of the eighteenth century; and English novels of the nineteenth century are better productions of their kind than English novels of the eighteenth century. This progress, if carefully studied, will be found to be an exact counter-part of the progress of the English people in practical culture, thus indicating a profound and

intimate connection between novel literature and practical education. But Hindu thought has not yet assumed a practical form, and it would be wrong, if not positively absurd, to expect a genuine novel from a Hindu writer of our time. It should be observed, however, that Bankim Chandra's works indicate the growth of a new spirit in Hindu society—a spirit which, when it receives fuller development, will create a large stock of genuine novels in Bengali.

Dukhini. Part I. Written by Haris Chandra Sarkár and corrected and altered by the writer's intimate friend Bholanath Dé. Published by the writer with helps received from the esteemed Srimati Maharani Swarnamayi and Babu Dwarka Nath Dé. Calcutta. Printed at B. P. M's Press. 1800 Sakabda.

EVERY sensible man will admit that all this is very curious matter for a title-page. It is all very well to possess a grateful heart and to acknowledge benefits received from others. But it is certainly very odd to fill the title-pages of books with grateful effusions. Great English authors do sometimes publish the names of those by whom their books are corrected or revised. But this is done only when the mention of such names is considered likely to enhance the value of the publications. When a work on physiology, for instance, is looked through by professor Owen, or professor Huxley, it becomes very necessary to mention the fact, because it affords a guarantee for the excellence of the work itself. Unfortunately, no such reason can be urged in the present case. Babu Bhola Nath Dé has not the reputation of a Tennyson or a Swinburne, and the Bengali community, so far as we have been able to ascertain, knows and cares very little about him. The work under notice would have fared exactly as it has fared, even if this name had not been inserted in the title-page. As to the help received from the Maharani Swarnamayi, we are clearly of opinion that both Haris Chandra Sarkár and Bhola Nath Dé (for we consider them to be joint perpetrators of this literary crime, *Dukhini*) would have discharged their obligations to that lady better if they had abstained from mentioning her name. For the public will certainly condemn the person who aids and abets the publication of a really worthless book.

Of that book some idea ought to be given to the reader, if not for any other purpose, at least for the sake of justifying the strong language we have used with reference to it. By *Dukhini*, or the poor woman, is meant Bharat-mata or the mother of India, a creation of the new race of Bengali poetasters, answering in some degree to the conception of *Athene Pronachos* among the Athe-

nians of old. This Bharat-mata is always weeping because she has lost her liberty and her children have been reduced to slavery. She is full of grief for the many worthy sons she has lost. In the book before us we find her reciting her former glories in a manner of which some idea may be formed from the following quotations :—

“ বর্ষাভ, কোলঙ্গো, উড, লীলাবতী হতে
লগ্নে যত সূত্র, খ্যাতি লভিছে একালে।”

“ আয় ভবভূতি, গাওরে ‘বীর চরিত,’
সাজিয়ে হুতন সাজে বাল্মীকির রামে ;
অথবা রচিয়া ‘উত্তর রাম চরিত’
গভিনী সীতায় রাখ বাল্মীকি আশ্রমে।”

(৩)

আয়রে ক্ষেত্রমোহন এ বঙ্গ ভবনে,
কলে পাখা টানা, আর কল ময়দার
কে হজিবে এবে ?”

We learn from the preface that Baboo Haris Chandra was not for publishing this book, and that its publication is due to the advice of Baboo Bhola Nath Dé and some other persons. We must tell Haris Baboo that he has made a very bad choice of counsellor and we should advise him to act according to his own better judgment in future.

Bharata Bhaishajya Tattwa, or a handbook of Materia-Medica and Therapeutics on Indian Drugs.—By Anvika Charan Rakshit, Assistant-Surgeon in charge of a Government Charitable Dispensary. Printed at the Chikitsa Tattwa Press, by Bhola Nath Chattopadhyaya, No. 80 Mukhtaram Baboo's Street, Chorbagan, Calcutta. Sakabda 1801, Baisakh.

THE nature and object of this very useful work may be gathered from the following extract from the preface.

“The experience of the last twenty years has proved that the Indian drugs, used by the ancient Hindoo physicians, are more adapted and effective to Hindoo constitution than those imported from abroad. The introduction of Indian drugs in the more

developed European system of medicine has, therefore, become a necessity of the times. Attempts have been made to analyse and examine the virtues of the Indian plants and minerals. Some have already found high places in the British Pharmacopœia.

The want of a book in the Bengali language on Indian drugs, compiled from the standard medical works of the Hindoos, and embodying the researches and experiences of the European physicians, has now been felt among the Bengali-knowing medical practitioners of the country. To remove this want of the profession to a certain extent I have ventured to undertake to compile this treatise. The subject is so comprehensive, the task so onerous, that I feel myself bent down at the very thought of it. I understand my own position and capabilities and, doing so, I feel that it is presumption on my part to undertake to handle such an important branch of the medicine. But I feel the want, and it is only the dictate of this feeling and nothing more that has induced me to compile this book. If at my instance abler and more competent men than I, and I know they are innumerable, undertake to compile a more useful work on Indian *Materia-Medica* and *Therapeutics*, I shall feel myself amply repaid for the labor and thought I have bestowed on this humble book."

The resuscitation of Indian medical science is a noble and useful work which ought to be performed by educated Hindoos. The publication of works like this shows that Hindoo medical practitioners who have received instruction in European medical systems are fast recognising the duty they owe to themselves, their country, and their science. It is perfectly true, as the writer says, that Indian drugs ought to be largely studied and used by medical practitioners in this country. European medical men fully admit this truth, and some of them have laboured earnestly and assiduously to accomplish this object. But it is easy to understand that the efforts of foreigners must be necessarily imperfect and unproductive of adequate results. Upon educated Indian members of the profession, therefore, devolves this great and solemn duty; for it is they alone who can discharge it adequately and well. To Baboo Amvika Charan Rakshit the thanks of the profession and the public are, therefore, due, for the very successful attempt he has made to explain the Hindoo *Materia-Medica* in easy and popular Bengali. One great merit of his work is that he has, in almost every instance, explained Hindoo nomenclature by its European equivalent. In the present state of the profession and of the community in general, such procedure is simply indispensable, and we are glad that it has

been followed by Baboo Amvika Charan. In India the foreign and the indigenous systems ought to be read together, if full benefit is to be derived from either.

Ascharya Manjari : That is, the wonderful Story of a Parrot.—
By Chintamani Bapuli, Printed at N. L. Seal's Press, No. 65,
Ahiritola, Calcutta : 1276.

IN every respect this book is a curiosity and a puzzle. A parrot story in the present temper of the Bengali literary public is as ridiculous an anomaly as would be the story of an enchanted castle in English in the year of grace 1879. And then the language and style of the author :—

“দিগ্‌মণ্ডল পরিমণ্ডিত ভুবনমণ্ডল মধ্যে উমা নাম্নী গরীয়সী নগরীতে মহীমহনীয় মহিম মহীশ্র বিখ্যাত রাজা মহেন্দ্র সমান বিরাজমান ছিলেন। সরাজ। ব্রহ্ম যজ্ঞ বেদাধ্যয়ন দেবযজ্ঞ হোম পিতৃযজ্ঞ তপ'ণ ভূতযজ্ঞ বলিদান এবং নৃযজ্ঞ অতিথি সেবন এই রূপ পঞ্চ মহাযজ্ঞ এবং অন্যান্য নিত নৈমিত্তিক কাম্য কর্ম করত অবকাশ সময়ে রাজকার্য্য সম্পাদন করিতেন। উপজীবী সমুদয়কে স্বীয় স্বীয় জাতীয় ধর্মাচরণ করণে উপদেশ অকরণে শাসন করিতেন। এবমাদি পুণ্যপুঞ্জের তথা নিজ ভূজ-ষলবীর্ষ্যের নৈপুণ্যানুরাগে শ্রীরামচন্দ্র রাজন্যক রাজের প্রসাদ প্রাপ্তসা গ্রহণ করিয়া রাজ্য করিতেছিলেন। বরং বদান্যবর রাষ্ট্রীয় দীন সন্দোহের অদৈন্য করণে পুণ্যবর্জ্জন পরম্পরা সকণেই রাজার ধন্যবাদে নিযুক্ত ছিলেন। ইত্যাদি।”

Surely this looks like the composition of some ante-diluvian man for some extinct branch of the human family. We wonder why Babu Chintamani Bapuli has not yet been included in the collection of ante-diluvian fossils in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. And we wonder still more at the bare possibility of such a linguistic marvel in the present developed condition of the Bengali language, and at the existence of an Indian who seems to belie a strong, energetic and typical foreign rule extending over nearly one hundred and twenty-five years. The fact ought to be carefully noted by linguists and Anglo-Indian statesmen.

Ratna-garbha: A Drama.—By Chandra Bhusan Majumdar
Printed by Kailas Chandra Bhattacharya, at the Basistha Press
Calcutta.

WE do not of course intend to speak of the dramatic merits of this work, for, like all his Bengali brethren of his craft, the author has been careful enough to steer clear of such merits. He is, however, quite original on one point. Beginning with the motto, "India expects every man to do his duty," the author gives us a hysterical preface to show how every Indian may be able to do his duty in the matter of driving out Englishmen and restoring India's political liberty. He says that their only means of doing this is to unite among themselves—disunion being the sole cause of their present political subjection. And he is fully confident that the perusal of this precious drama will enable them to unite for this grand national purpose of sending away Englishmen from India. He, therefore, tells his countrymen to read his book, and after that to do what they like. Books like this *Ratna-garbha* are simply contemptible.

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THE
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1879.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA.

IT sounds like a truism to say that the business of a school is to train children for the parts which they will have to play in the world as men and women, yet, owing to the complications and uncertainties of the problem, a good deal of educational energy is constantly wasted in beating the air. In India we approach questions of this kind with peculiar advantages and a still larger share of special difficulties. Here we are less hampered by obsolete traditions and vested interests, but, on the other hand, institutions imported by a foreign aristocracy are necessarily less suited to the people than such as have been developed by circumstances. Besides, those minds which are strong on the critical side, are apt to be slow in action. The ardent philanthropist, and the man of bold speculative genius who indulges in the dreams of Alnascher, carry the multitude with them, while the man of thought merely shakes his head and shrugs his shoulders.

It is the object of this paper to discuss an elementary principle of education which seems unaccountably to have slipped out of sight, and yet is of much practical importance everywhere, but especially in India, the principle, I mean, that schools are not so much a cause, as a consequence, of civilisation.

The theory of popular education upon which the Indian Government has acted is well expressed in a recent report :—"I conceive "that the principal objects of popular education should be so to "train the mental faculties that any duty undertaken in after life "may be carried on with intelligence ; to impart information that "will prove of practical use in years to come ; so to train the "eye and the taste that the most humble may derive pleasure from "beauty in nature and art ; to train the moral feelings so that

"the schools may turn out good men and good citizens; and
 "lastly, by inculcating the importance of cleanly habits and the
 "necessity of pure air and water, and the observance of elementary
 "principles of hygiene, to develop a healthy body." (Punjab
 Education Report, 1877-78).

Such are the advantages which we of the educated classes feel that we owe to our education, and similar blessings we would gladly, as far as possible, bestow upon the people of India. But society is too strong for the schoolmaster. You may train a child in the way he should go; you cannot send him forth as an apostle of progress to revolutionize the world, or even raise him much above the level of his fellows. And for this reason, that the lessons learnt at school are for the most part unprofitable, except so far as they fit into the life which follows. The boy whose eye and taste were trained at Eton, feels the benefit of his education when he visits Switzerland and Rome years afterwards, but the zemindar who has been taught the "elementary principles of hygiene" in the village school, will drink out of a cattle-pond to the end of the chapter. This is the teaching of experience, and it was to be expected. For, granted that in early youth the mind is easily moulded, and that the impressions made at school are as lasting as any other, yet it must be remembered that the time spent in school is only a fraction of the boy's life, that his teacher and school-fellows are themselves rude rustics, and that much of the work is a mere mechanical exercise, having little influence upon the feelings and intellect. Or, suppose that England were conquered by a nation in which culture had advanced as far beyond Europe as Europe is beyond India; is it conceivable that an enlightened despot might so improve the curriculum of Harrow and Rugby that our sons would be entitled to regard us as barbarians? Of course not, because school influences can never be more than a small proportion of all the factors in the character of a cultivated man.

Some years ago there was much discussion in India whether education should follow vertical or horizontal lines. In both cases the object was ultimately to educate the masses, but the party of "horizontal extension" thought it possible to proceed by direct means, while the advocates of "downward filtration" held that the masses could best be reached through a cultivated upper class. Perhaps both parties included persons who were not quite sincere in their professions. Public opinion demanded some kind of faith in education, and those who feared that the higher culture would produce only rebels and atheists, saw no harm in the three R's, while their opponents saw no use in them.

Nevertheless an earnest effort was made in the North-West Provinces, and afterwards in the Punjab, to raise the condition of the agricultural class by education. It was evident that the Indian peasant was very ignorant, and it was feared that, through his ignorance, he was rapidly being eaten up by his natural enemy, the money-lender. Such a prospect might well cause anxiety to statesmen whose philosophy was wider and deeper than that of the deserted village, and it seemed not unreasonable to anticipate that if the zemindar's sons were sent to school and taught as much of reading, writing and accounts as would enable them to manage their own affairs, they would be in a better position than their father to fight the battle of life. Accordingly an extensive system of village schools was organised, and has been in operation for many years. In some respects a fair degree of success has been achieved, for prejudices have been removed, and, in many parts of the country, although not universally, boys of the agricultural class accept education very readily. Still the object of the scheme can hardly be said to have been attained. For in truth the tiller of the soil is as ignorant, and as much at the mercy of the capitalist, as ever. Usually, in a school intended for the agricultural class, the most intelligent and successful among the scholars are those very *banyas* whose wits were too sharp before, and who now employ against the zemindar the weapons which were forged for his protection.

Then, if the agricultural element is fairly represented, as is sometimes the case, it will be found on enquiry that the student's object is anything but to follow his father's business. An appointment of some sort is desired in which literary qualifications may be turned to account, and if the boy leaves school without prospects of such employment, the parents are disappointed and cry out that their son has been ruined. Of course a considerable proportion of the boys who have attended school for various reasons are forced to drive the plough or mind the shop after all, and it is their case which for our present purpose is specially interesting. It is clear that the people themselves do not recognise the value of a school education for the purpose of circumventing the *banya*, or in the way of culture apart from direct uses. And this is a point on which public opinion is likely to be right. For men are prejudiced against reforms before experience, but are not usually blind to the advantages which they enjoy. When, therefore, men who attended school as boys declare that their education has been of no use to them, it behoves us to listen more respectfully than to the prophets of evil who thwarted the scheme when it was new. Next, if it is admitted that

education in India is directly useful only to those whose work is more or less of a literary nature, what importance are we to attach to culture apart from attainments? This side of the subject has been touched upon already, but it is worth while to discuss it in more detail. For with respect to what we may call the uneducated classes the indirect benefits of schooling are all that can be pretended.

Let us leave out of the question for the moment the case of all clerks and munshees, letter-writers, letter-carriers, &c., who of course must get a literary education somewhere. I go into a prosperous village, or small town, where there has been a school for the last twenty or thirty years. I see from fifty to a hundred boys of various ages at their lessons, and, on the whole, making a fair use of their opportunities.

I question the headman of the place and the schoolmaster about the results of education :

“ Why do these boys come to school ? ”

“ With the hope of getting employment.”

“ How many boys have got employment within your recollection ? ”

“ Four or five, or a dozen, or fifteen.”

“ That is to say not more than one or two in the year ? ”

“ Yes.”

“ What becomes of the rest ? ”

“ They go back to the shop, or the fields.”

“ Do they ever read or write, or in any way make use of their education ? ”

“ Never.”

“ Do they think that they have got any good by their education ? ”

“ None whatever.”

Now, am I to suppose that these young men who were once at school, but now have forgotten everything, were so trained that, to repeat the words of our quotation, any duty undertaken by them is carried on with intelligence ; that the information acquired by them at school is now of practical use ; that they are able to derive pleasure from beauty in nature and in art ; that they are better men and better citizens than the men of neighbouring villages in which there is no school ; and that, from cleanly habits and the observance of elementary principles of hygiene, they have developed a healthy body ?

For my own part I find it impossible to believe anything of the kind. No doubt some traces of the school remain here and there, but nothing to justify the outlay in time, labour and money

which is implied in the maintenance of a Government school. It is not enough for you to tell me that the teaching in your school has tendencies in the direction which has been pointed out. I require tangible evidence that the promised good has been accomplished.

I can admit that the shop-keeper, or ploughman, who has been to school, will be likely to talk to me rather more intelligently than his fellows who have not had the same advantage, but till I see that he lives and does his business in a better way than his neighbours, I shall not be satisfied that the game is worth the candle. A century or two ago popular education was a thing unknown; not because philosophers in former times were incapable of grasping the idea, but because the time had not yet come. Some teaching the masses had, chiefly through the ministers of religion, but literary pursuits were confined to certain classes. Gradually, as civilisation advanced, books and newspapers multiplied, till at last in Europe and America they are within the reach of every one. Simultaneously the means of education have been increased, but it was no more possible to anticipate modern culture in the Middle Ages by instituting a system of popular instruction, than it would have been to construct ironclad steamers and monster guns before the battle of Trafalgar. In some things no doubt we are wiser than our fathers, but let us not flatter ourselves that if we had lived in their time we could, with our present knowledge, do their work better than they. For the most part our advantage over them is in the development of society since their time, and in India we have constantly to bear in mind that we shall never accomplish by a stroke of the pen what can only be the result of evolution.

We can maintain order, reform the law, build railroads and dig canals. We can train up lawyers, doctors and clerks; and there is reason to hope that a well governed country will necessarily improve morally and intellectually. But to change the mind and manner of life of a nation by direct interference is a different, and much harder task. It might be thought an impossible one, only that some people seem to undertake it with a light heart, as the French rushed into their last war.

The fact is that, notwithstanding the progress which has been made in all departments of thought, we are sadly deficient, as J. S. Mill pointed out, in applying the Socratic method of examination to our opinions.

Nine men out of ten scarcely venture to think how much of the religion which they profess may be true, and, in questions of education, a servile copy of something which is in fashion at

home is held to suffice, and the Indian undergraduate is at one time trained in Milton and Shakespeare, at another in chemistry, and next, perhaps, will be put through a course of leaders from *The Times*. It would be far better to abandon experiments of this kind and to use direct means to definite ends. Society in India has need of the services of magistrates, lawyers, physicians, engineers, writers and others, who form an educated class. Let the State, if necessary, provide for these persons the education which they require, and which will of course be partly general and partly professional. All should learn to read and write and whatever else is requisite for persons of that class, and without which they are placed at a disadvantage among their fellows. There is no need to define. The standard varies at different times and in different countries, and it is fixed, not by the schoolmaster, but by evolution. It is the business of the schoolmaster to take the measure of society, not to mould it according to his fancy, although of course his work is an important element in the evolution of society. The mistake which men make is this. They say, let us teach physical science—that will free the mind from superstition; or let us teach poetry—that will refine the taste; or let us teach hygiene,—that will convince people of the mischief of their uncleanly habits. The answer to all this is, “Cast not your pearls before swine.” The mind of an English gentleman is enlarged and refined by studies such as these, because he himself has a profession, or mixes with those who profess cultivation of this kind, and his training at school and college is in close connection with the pursuits of the life which follows. But who would think of maintaining that a course of Plato and Aristotle is essential for the right education of a draper’s assistant, or algebra for that of a washerwoman? The absurdity is obvious here, and it is equally so to any one who looks into the matter when an education suited for an educated class is proposed as a means of quickening progress in a people not yet ripe for civilisation of the higher sort. Within the limits prescribed by circumstances, no work which Government has undertaken in this country can be more important than that of education; and it is a work which will constantly increase. The character of a vast hierarchy of native officials and an equal number of persons engaged in business, will depend much upon the fidelity with which our public schoolmasters discharge their duties. But the notion that the common people can be raised by forcing the children to pass through public schools is condemned both by theory and by experience.

C. PEARSON.

ART. II.—THE ‘ECONOMICAL DRAIN’ ECONOMICALLY EXAMINED, OR A PLEA FOR THE “TRIBUTE.”

THE phrase, “economical drain,” will doubtless be recognised by our readers as that used by Mr. Hyndman in his effusions on the bankruptcy of India which have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*. The phrase is high sounding and enjoys the advantage of having the semblance of reality, even from the view of the political economist. Mr. Hyndman is clearly, however, an enthusiast and not an economist, and it may be profitable to check some of his extravagant figures and wide generalisations by the facts and laws of political economy, as they apply to India. By the phrase, Mr. Hyndman, it must be explained, does not denote the fact of from 16 to 20 crores of rupees annually being extracted from the Indian tax-payers to cover certain Government payments; what he refers to is the indisputable economical fact that the inferior country, in order to pay what is economically speaking a ‘tribute,’ exports commodities valued at from 16 to 17 millions sterling, for which she receives no return in imports, the credit due to her on her trade being appropriated by the superior country in discharge of her State debt. As Mr. Hyndman appears to us to have greatly exaggerated the case against the British Government, we shall first check his figures. In his article of October 1878 he makes some rash calculations as to the trade balance in favour of India, by comparing gross exports and imports and adding on a percentage here and there, with the object apparently, of obtaining a good round number. Any financier could tell Mr. Hyndman that statements as to gross exports and imports, however reliable their data, are never accepted as more than indicative, or roughly corroborative, of the net results of international payments, which are ascertainable on much more reliable data. The addition of 15 per cent to a sum of £997,063,848, which is put down as the value of the aggregate exports in 20 years, results in a number of 10 cyphers, too large for finite human faculties to comprehend, and such as enthusiasts and astronomers alone deal in; a number about which, there is to the ordinary reader, an uncomfortable uncertainty as to whether it should be called a billion or a thousand million. The calculation of such a number is doubtless a harmless exercise in arithmetic, but we fail to see what other useful purpose it serves. Proceeding, however, on these figures, Mr. Hyndman calculates the drain, or difference between exports and imports, to have been £421,000,000 in 20 years, or £21,000,000

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a year In his later essay he says that, "the economical drain which has been so often disputed, and on many occasions entirely denied, is at last admitted by the present Finance Minister of India, Sir John Strachey himself, to the amount of £20,000,000; and," he adds, "it is reckoned by others who have closely studied the subject, at a much larger sum." "This," he goes on to say, "means that the whole of the land revenue of our territory leaves the country, that nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the exports of 190,000,000 people meets with no return." Let us now try and ascertain what the 'economical drain,' or tribute, or by whatever other name we choose to call it, really is. If Mr. Hyndman will study any Parliamentary report on the subject, as for instance the report of the silver committee of 1876, he will learn that the yearly payments of India to England can be gauged by adding the loans raised in England for India to the Secretary of State's drafts, the reason of this being that if there were no loan raised, the drafts for a financial year would exhibit the debt exactly. He would further learn, what the laws of political economy would lead us to believe, that the sum of the drafts and the loans represents the commercial balance due to India on her export trade, and that, when the drafts are displaced by a loan, silver remittances to India take the place of the drafts *pro tanto* in disposing of the debt for exports.

The figures of drafts and loans for five years are quoted below :—

Years.	Drafts. £	Loans. £	TOTAL. £
1874-75	10,841,000	7,479,080	18,320,600
1875-76	12,390,000	1,200,000	13,590,000
1876-77	12,696,000	5,600,000	18,296,000
1877-78	10,134,000	4,280,000	14,414,000
1878-79	15,680,000	222,084	15,902,084
	61,741,600	18,781,084	80,522,684

The average yearly payment is just above 16 millions sterling, which is also the average of each of the pairs of years 1874-75, 1875-76, and 1876-77, 1877-78. The amount of the drafts in the above table is quoted from the Budget Statement of the Government of India, and that of the loans from Sir Thomas Seccombe's

evidence this year before the Parliamentary Committee on public works. The drafts for 1878-79 are, in the budget statement, converted from £ sterling into rupees at the current rate of exchange, and the estimated amount for 1879-80 is set down as 15 million sterling, or 19 crores. We note that in the Financial Resolution for 1878-79, the Government of India does state the commercial excess appropriated by England as tribute at 20 millions, and doubtless this rough statement is Mr. Hyndman's authority; probably the Government of India calculated the sum according to the method usual in the Budget Statements, of allowing 10 Rs. to the £ sterling, and, for the sake of a round number, unwarily made an exaggerated admission against itself.

Let us now examine Mr. Hyndman's conclusions economically. His argument is that, if it were not for the 'tribute,' India would either keep all the commodities represented by this sum for her own use, or, continuing to export them, would receive from England something that she wanted in exchange, more Manchester goods for clothing, for instance. The conclusion appears economically sound and might have been used by Mill himself. We know that when two countries trade together, the exports, as a rule, pay for the imports, and that, if one country owes another a fixed annual debt, the exports will cover the debt, plus the cost of the imports. It would appear, therefore, that the tribute is so much clear drain from India without corresponding return. But, if we examine the peculiar conditions of Indian trade, we shall find that the drain caused by the tribute is more apparent than real, so far as any benefit to the people from its removal is concerned, or any injury from its existence.

The drain of bullion to the East has long been a phenomenon observed of the economists. There are no accurate accounts of the amounts passing until 1858. Mr. Hyndman himself, in his October essay, states the sums that passed between 1857 and 1876 to have been £271,356,994. Professor Cairnes, in the fourth of his "Essays on Political Economy," states that the following amounts have passed to the East, principally to India, between 1858-1870:

Gold	...	... £	90,000,000
Silver	...	... £	95,000,000
<hr/>			
			£ 185,000,000

From the report of the silver committee it appears that the following amounts passed from 1870 to 1876:

From 1870 to 1872	...	...	30,000,000
Do. 1872 to 1876	...	...	16,400,000
			<hr/>
			46,400,000
			18

And this would give a sum of £231,000,000 from 1858 to 1876, which is somewhat smaller than Mr. Hyndman's sum. It would appear from the above figures that in the earlier period, from 1858 to 1870, there was an average annual remittance in bullion to India of between 15 and 16 millions sterling; in the next three years it fell to 10 millions, and in the last four years, it fell to between 3 and 4 millions. The earlier years of the period were those palmy days for India, as Mr. Hyndman would consider them, ere the drain of her life-blood had begun, when England was giving with her left hand what she took with her right; when, as the financiers of the silver committee explain, the guaranteed railway and other companies were pouring their capital into the treasury of the India Office, and the Secretary of State consequently forbore to draw on the Indian treasury for his tribute. These early years may therefore be taken as typical of the commercial status between England and India at the most flourishing period of the Indian trade; and apparently we are justified in concluding that India was in the habit of receiving an annual remittance of from 14 to 16 millions sterling in hard cash as the balance due on her exports, before the imposition of the tribute. But now the tribute has begun to tell. As the English loans have decreased, this torrent of bullion has run down to a little dribble, so that in the year of 1878-79, when the loan was only some £220,000, the net bullion remittances amounted to about 3 millions only. The palpable effect, therefore, of the tribute is to deprive India of a large mass of bullion which she before received as the balance due on her exports; the value of this bullion being now appropriated by England in payment of interest for capital productively employed, and for the services of the Government. It is needless to remind any one who has but a slight acquaintance with political economy, that the fact of a country drawing year after year an enormous mass of bullion and absorbing it, as India appears to have done in return for a large portion of its exports, is contrary to the ordinary laws of international trade, and that the phenomenon must be attributed to some very special circumstances connected with India. What these circumstances are, the sequel will show; meanwhile the question we have to determine with reference to Mr. Hyndman's position, is what good India derived from this mass of bullion, and what injury she suffers by being now deprived of it? The natural conclusion from the laws of international trade as they affect most countries, is that she received this silver because she required it more than any other commodity; and, accordingly, most people assert that the silver is necessary to her to meet the expansion of her currency as her trade grows, and that she received it on this account. Mr. Walter Bagehot, in the twelfth of his "essays on the

depreciation of silver," arguing on the premise that the silver was necessary for this purpose, shows that the fact of the tribute being imposed will not eventually interfere with this flow of bullion; that is he would prove that the balance due to India in bullion after tribute and imports are paid for, will eventually re-assert itself. And if his premise is true, he is quite right, but we think that the following explanation tends to show that the premise is wrong, and that India, and the East generally, do not require this mass of bullion, but that it is forced upon them, by circumstances over which they have no control, in lieu of other more desirable articles of trade which, but for these special circumstances, they would have received.

Under ordinary circumstances, when two countries, A and B, trade, and, as the result of that trade, A owes B more than B owes A, the cost to A of making remittances to B will go up above the par rate (which is the rate when the debts on each side balance), to specie point; that is, supposing the cost of remitting specie to be 2 per cent, the rate of exchange may be driven up by the demand for bills 2 per cent above par. On the other hand, the cost of remitting from B to A will fall to 2 per cent below par. This fact will at once tend to decrease the trade from B to A and to increase that from A to B, until equilibrium is restored; that is, until the debts for commodities on both sides balance one another at par. Bullion will, therefore, in the case of two countries thus circumstanced, never continue passing from A to B or from B to A, in adjustment of a balance, the correction through the action of the bills being spontaneous. Nay, more than this, bullion will seldom pass to satisfy a net balance due on trade, for there will be almost always some other desirable commodity that the side to which the balance is due will take as readily as bullion, and which will cost less to export than the full margin of 2 per cent that must be paid for exporting bullion. Such is the fortunate condition of most countries whose circumstances force them to illustrate the law that commodities and not money, are wealth. I advisedly say *money*, for it is as money and not as a commodity, that the precious metals pass to settle the balance of trade with India, although subsequently they pass from the money stage into that of an unproductive commodity. It is the not perceiving that circumstances prevent the ordinary laws acting in the case of India, that makes people suppose the bullion to be a necessity to her. These circumstances, which are the immediate causes of her capacity for absorbing year by year a mass of the precious metals in silver for her exports, we will now explain.*

* These facts will be found more fully worked out and explained in the 2nd and 3rd of a series of articles on "Indian Political Economy" which appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 15th and 20th of March 1879.

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India virtually draws all her bullion from London, which acts as the market of the world. The par rate for adjusting debts on either side between England and India, when those debts are equal, is the sterling cost of buying silver in London and laying down rupees in India. This fact is well known to financiers, and it can be simply and indisputably proved. As soon, therefore, as the debt to India for exports exceeds the debt due by her, and, in consequence, the demand for remittance to India drives the rate for bills above par, it becomes cheaper to the debtor of India to remit bullion, and he remits it. The par and specie points for remittances to India being identical, there is not a shade of margin so long as there is silver in the market to allow of the trader buying up some other commodity, Manchester goods for instance, and remitting it in discharge of his debt, at less cost than bullion. Even a small excess demand for remittance may cause much more than the net balance to be sent out in bullion in preference to the bills which are at the time costing more. Thus India is constantly liable to receive bullion for her exports in place of other commodities, on account of the absence of margin between par and specie rates, which in the case of other countries stops the flow of bullion and restores equilibrium.

But, it may be suggested, the immediate result of this influx of bullion must be to raise prices, and the ordinary laws of currency would apply an immediate corrective through the exchange: for by the mere raising of prices, which is equivalent to a depreciation of bullion, that being the only commodity whose price does not rise, bullion would leave the country to seek a better market, and at the same time exports would be reduced to the level of imports by the discouragement of the high prices. All this would doubtless happen, were it not for another special circumstance of India, namely, the willingness of the people to hoard. The currency is not inflated, simply because the rupees, after passing through the mint, are willingly accepted by the natives of India, as an addition to their hoards, on account of their intrinsic value being near their bullion value. Thus the two special circumstances which except the trade of India from the operation of the ordinary laws of trade, are, first, the mode in which she obtains her bullion, and, secondly, the capacity of her inhabitants for hoarding; and so long as these circumstances are unchanged, and no corrective is applied, the stream of precious metals

"Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum."

It is needless to observe that the whole of this mass of bullion that is absorbed into the hoards (by which, be it remembered we mean not only buried treasure, but all that is withdrawn from circulation and turned into personal ornaments), becomes unpro-

ductive. Not being set aside for productive investment, it becomes distinctly 'Not Capital' as defined by Mill (*Political Economy*, Book I, cap IV) Doubtless, if bullion, instead of other commodities, were forced in a similar manner upon a civilised people who were not inclined to hoard, the rise of prices which would ensue on the bullion being added to the currency would cause the imports to increase, that is to say the excess bullion would become capital and be profitably invested by leaving the country. But circumstances force bullion upon India, as wealth, in return for her real wealth, and she, in her imperfect civilisation, accepts it as wealth, and allows it to lie unproductive. The extent to which hoards do exist in India, and are drawn upon only in times of great progress, is well illustrated in the following extract from an article on "Agrarian Distress and Discontent in India," which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* of April 1879, and describes the manner in which hoards found their way to the treasury during the Bombay famine.

"In September 1876 the Bombay Government commenced giving (famine) relief, and in December active measures were taken, and were hardly relaxed before the following October. Yet the official report published in December last (1878) assures us 'that the mass of peasant-proprietors supported themselves.' How was this possible unless they had savings, the existence of which is so strenuously denied? We have statistics accessible to Mr. Hyndman, but evidently overlooked by him, which cannot be controverted. We presume that the order in which a starving population would draw on its reserves would be as follows:—First, cash balances in hand would be expended; this supply would be absorbed into the circulation without the possibility of our gauging it. Balances in the savings banks would be next drawn; of these withdrawals we have figures, but the masses do not avail themselves of such institutions for hoarding their savings. Next the silver coins of former currencies would be parted with, and finally silver ornaments would be pledged and then sold. Once sold, the ornaments would gradually find their way into circulation through the mints of Bombay and Calcutta. Thus, we find that the tender of silver ornaments at the Bombay mint increased with the progress of famine. Before 1876 the tender of such objects averaged £600 a month. In November 1876 they reached £7,000, and in December they increased to £100,000; they then rose steadily until September 1877, when their value was £189,754. In the two years 1877 and 1878 the value of ornaments tendered at the Bombay mint alone amounted to £1,946,158, and the value of ornaments and disused coins together exceeded 2½ millions sterling. These figures speak for themselves."

The above passage shows clearly that the progress of famine must have forced into circulation an immense quantity of silver hoarded by the classes who are not the capitalists of the country, and into whose hands a very small portion of the balance of trade, that yearly stream of bullion which we have described, would naturally come, and it gives some indication of the immense quantity of bullion which has been received in years of plenty and is hidden within the country. When we consider these facts, the saying, which became a proverb in the Bombay Presidency during the time of the American cotton famine, that cart-wheels would have been made of silver if that prosperous time had continued, contains to our mind much more truth than appears on the surface.

To return, however, to our argument, although the disposition to hoard exists and acts in this way when aided by the other circumstance which forces the bullion upon India, it does not constitute, or, as the sequel will show, is prevented from constituting, an effectual demand which can prevail when the drag is applied to the other effectual cause. The tribute acts as such a drag by tending to equalise the debt on either side, that is, to increase the debt of India to England by adding the tribute to the debt for imports. The tribute found an abnormal condition of things existing, under which the exports largely exceeded the imports and the value was received in bullion; certain phenomena peculiar to India, as already explained, allowed this condition of things to continue, and the imposition of tribute has restored things to the normal condition which exists in other countries. As soon as ever the drag is taken off by the operation of a loan in England, forth rushes the stream of bullion to fill up the vacuum as before, but so long as the drag is allowed to act effectually, we shall show on *à priori* grounds, that, strong though the desire for hoarded bullion is, it will be unable to prevail. According to our theory the commercial balance due for exports was paid in the form of bullion, the greater portion of which was unproductively absorbed and lost, some portion only being on rare occasions of extreme distress forced into circulation and productively employed. Whatever became thus absolutely useless must be regarded as surplus profit unnecessary to the support of any class of producers. That is to say India could have done without it and have been none the worse off in material goods. On the other hand we may be tolerably sure that all that was not absolutely necessary for subsistence and bare profit would be hoarded. Thus, so far as the subsistence and necessary profits of the productive classes were concerned, we may conclude that the price of exports might have been lowered until exported commodities were equal in price to imported, leaving no bullion balance for India to receive; but they could

be lowered no further ; any further strain would have encroached certainly upon the necessary profits, and probably on the subsistence, of the producers. Now the peculiar *modus operandi* of the tribute is to catch this surplus profit and employ it productively. It is obvious enough that the tribute worked by the drafts in London causes the balance due on exports to be retained by England in payment for capital productively employed, instead of being allowed to return to India to be unproductively buried. But the operation of the tribute in India itself is more complex. The commercial balance still exists, of course, and has to be paid to the Indian producers, or exporting merchants, and, through the action of the drafts in London, it comes to be paid from the Indian treasury. But as the Government must have the wherewithal to pay, it has first of all to appropriate the sum by taxation. Thus we come to the following curious result, that, so far as the balance of trade is concerned, the Government is continually paying with one hand what it is taking with the other, and *vice versa*. The surplus profit which was before buried has been tapped by the taxes. The annual excess of commodities is retained by England as productive capital, instead of being returned to India to become unproductive, and the payments for this surplus circulate in a continual flow between the Indian treasury and the producer ; the surplus being first taken as a political tax into the treasury, and then paid out as a commercial transaction. The taxation thus takes from the producer what was before buried, and leaves him still his bare profit and subsistence, which was what he had before after burying his treasure. Hence it follows that the desire for hoards cannot increase the exports by lowering prices ; for, if prices were lowered any more, the bare profit and perhaps the subsistence of the producer would be broken into.

Meanwhile there need be no fear whatever that the supply of bullion will be insufficient to meet the wants of the currency ; for even supposing India to be denuded of treasure by all the hoards being exhausted, which is of course an impossibility, the lowering of all prices which would follow a shrinkage of currency would promptly cause an increase of exports, and a consequent influx of bullion, sufficient to restore equilibrium. Such a contingency as a failure of bullion sufficient for the currency, would never have presented itself to the mind of a financier like Mr. Bagelot, had it not been that circumstances forced upon him the conviction that a much larger amount of bullion is required to supplement the currency than is really required.

The above view of the action of the tribute may appear to our readers somewhat speculative, and we may appear to Mr. Hyndman, and those who believe in him, hard-hearted in bringing forward

arguments in favour of a system which, on the face of it, has obstructed from the producer all the profit it can get, not leaving him even the satisfaction of gloating over the hoarded remnant, which he before had. We believe, however, that the facts adduced by us will prove our view to be something more than speculative, and granting that there is truth in our theory we consider that a system which even grinds down an inferior country to secure its unproductive capital and employ it productively, seeing that the country will not so employ it of its own accord, has something to be said in its favour.

There is one very important point connected with the subject of the yearly drafts and loans which is indirectly connected with the main question we have been discussing, or is well worth examining, for it will, on our theory, enable us to test at once and for any given year the solvency or bankruptcy of India. We have shown that the yearly tribute appropriated by the drafts may, without injury to India, be equivalent to the commercial balance due to India on her exports, that is to say, it should be that sum which under ordinary circumstances would return to India as bullion, but should under no circumstances be greater than that sum. We have seen how, up to the present time, when a loan is raised in England and displaces drafts to an equivalent amount, bullion fills up the gap by the action of the bills; which, owing to the scarcity and consequent demand for remittances, are driven up above the par, which is the specie, rate. The reason of this is that the balance due on exports has been hitherto sufficient to discharge the tribute; and the solvency of India is proved by the fact of large quantities of bullion having been yearly remitted, which would not have happened if bills against India, that is commercial bills and State drafts together, had not been less than bills in her favour. But supposing the exports to fall off and to be insufficient to cover the debt for imports and the tribute together, a loan would undoubtedly be raised to cover the State liabilities, which could no longer be covered by selling the drafts. India would then fall into the condition of a country which does not cover its debt with its exports, but, instead of exporting bullion to make up the balance, exports securities, that is borrows the money and pays interest on it. This has been the condition of Russia for many years, and is the condition of all bankrupt countries. There can be no doubt that India would have to adjust the balance against her in the manner described, if she could not increase her exports by lowering her prices, and this she could only do within certain limits. Bullion she could never export, for the loss of carrying it back to the market from which it had been previously obtained would be too great. It would be absolutely necessary

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for the Government to raise a loan equivalent to the drafts that could not be disposed of in the ordinary course of business.

The following table will show that hitherto India has been solvent, but that she has now reached a point when a slight increase to the State debt, or a falling off of the exports, would turn the scale against her.

	1874-75	1875-76	1876-77	1877-78	1878-79 Whole years
Credit. Exports ...	56,359,000	58,071,000	64,014,000	65,210,000	60,986,876
Debit. Imports ...	36,222,000	38,887,000	37,438,000	41,464,000	37,800,988
Tribute ...	10,841,000	12,890,000	12,696,000	10,181,000	11,680,000
Bullion ...	6,516,000	8,098,000	7,406,000	15,142,000	3,074,520
Total Debit ...	58,579,000	54,875,000	57,530,000	66,740,000	56,555,503
Balance Credit ..	2,779,400	3,716,000	3,484,000	-1,530,000	4,381,373
Loans in England ...	7,479,416	1,280,000	5,600,000	4,280,000	222,084

The indication given by this table is that all debits have been hitherto covered by the exports. The minus quantity in 1877-78 is due simply to the large demand for remittances and consequent high price of sales having caused an excessive remittance of silver, more in fact than was needed at the moment to cover the debt for exports; it is therefore no sign whatever of insolvency. The year 1878-79 is that in which the loan is smallest, and the credit consequently has had the severest strain put upon it by the tribute acting to its full extent. In this year consequently the bullion remittances are smallest, and it would have been no cause for surprise if the tribute had virtually cancelled the balance due on trade to India. In spite of all, however, the net bullion remittances have been above three millions, which is a plain proof that India was solvent. But if we go on to examine the state of affairs for 1879-80 we find that the tide has turned against India, and that the State will require an expert pilot to steer her through her difficulties. The State debt being 19 crores of rupees, if the whole of this debt is to be disposed of by selling drafts in London, the average weekly sale must be about 36 lakhs. As a matter of fact the Government can, when the export trade is brisk, dispose of more than this amount, and they have to regulate their sales by the demand existing each week for remittance without lowering the rate of exchange too much by throwing too many bills on the market. The sales in a year when the whole amount of drafts is to be disposed of and no loans are to be raised, will average from 25 lakhs when trade is slack, 45 or 50 lakhs when it is brisk. We have framed the following table in order to contrast a solvent and an insolvent period of

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Indian international trade and finance. The period selected for our illustration is that in which the critical state of the finances was first comprehended and the necessity of a loan in England began to be mooted.

Months.	Number of weeks.	1878.					1879.				
		Secretary of State's Drafts.		Price of Silver.	Rate of Drafts.	Silver to India Thousands of £.	Secretary of State's Drafts.		Price of Silver.	Rate of Drafts.	Silver to India Thousands of £.
		Tendered, Lakhs of Rs.	Allotted Thousands of R.				Tendered Lakhs of Rs.	Allotted Thousands of Rs.			
March.	1st.	50	40 90	54½	1-8-68	331	45	36 00	49½	1-7 019	19
	2nd.	50	50-00	51½	1-8-62	..	45	36-00	49½	1-7-014	20
	3rd.	50	50-00	54½	1-8 65	...	35	18-85	49	1-6 846	...
	4th.	50	50-00	54½	1-8-75	...	25	24-90	49½ to 50	1-7-263	89
April.	1st.	50	49 95	51½	1-9-687	...	25	25-00	49½	1-7 076	...
	2nd.	50	50-00	53½	1-8-687	...	25	25-00	50	1-7 25	217
	3rd.	50	50 00	54	1-8-625	...	25	25-00	49½	1-7-138	172
	4th.	50	49-90	54	1-8-625	13	25	25-00	49½	1-7-18	178
May.	1st.	50	50-00	53½	1-8-507	60	25	25-00	50	1-7 20	110

In 1878 it may be observed that the full amounts of 50 lakhs weekly offered for sale were taken without much apparent effect in lowering exchange, although the fact that there was no demand for silver, owing to the drafts satisfying the demand for remittance, might have been expected to lower the price of silver and the exchange with it. During this period it is clear that the tribute was acting satisfactorily in appropriating the balance due to India, and was preventing the efflux of silver. In 1879, at the beginning of March, the India Office was offering in the market 45 lakhs per week without being able to dispose of them. It then reduced the allotment to 35 lakhs, but only disposed of half the amount, the demand for remittances being very small in consequence of the slackness of Indian export trade. It then became clear that it would be impossible to dispose of the 19 crores worth of drafts within the year, and the provision of a loan in England to cover its liabilities then became inevitable. It then reduced its weekly allotment to 25 lakhs in view of this contingency. This amount there has been no difficulty in disposing of, partly because even a limited export trade would require such an amount; but another strong incentive to buying the drafts has been the probability of a loan of ten millions sterling, which would

reduce the total amount of drafts offered for the year to, from 7 to 8 crores, and this being insufficient for the balance due on exports, would necessitate large purchases of bullion. As it is, it is apparent from the last column of the table that the drafts offered have been insufficient to meet the demand for remittances, and large sums in silver have been recently sent out. This fact has doubtless propped up exchange, but the expediency from a financial point of view is very doubtful. It appears to us that it would have been far better for the Government to have disposed of a larger sum in drafts even at the risk of lowering the exchange by a small fraction, than to have provided for raising a larger loan than was absolutely necessary. The above results show, we think, clearly, that, while India has been solvent in past years and has received loans without any necessity of so doing, so far as her international debit and credit account was concerned, she has been compelled this year to borrow money chiefly through the insufficiency of the export trade to cover her debts, and hence she is temporarily insolvent. But if this difficulty be, as we believe it is, only a temporary one, it should be doubtless met by increasing the drafts in another year, when the export trade has revived, so as to repay what had to be borrowed in the bad year for the sake of covering the annual debt, and if this is done we see no objection to the loan of 1879 as a temporary expedient.

G. H. W. WALKER.

ART. III.—INDIA'S PLACE IN HUMAN EVOLUTION.

THE mind of man was matured in the mysterious laboratory of long millenniums ; where family life slowly arose out of the weakness of man's offspring and the long cohabitation of the parent pair necessary for the preservation of the young to a period of maturity and strength. Cries and ejaculations necessary to indicate the things in which mutual help was needed, arose in the family intercourse thus originated ; and families strong in numbers and character imposed their interjections upon others, when families began to unite in clans, so that the conventional sounds thus adopted became the foundation of language. Different sets of habits, different physical conditions even, arose slowly in the long lapse of apparently idle time ; by reason of the differences that arose gradually in the physical surroundings of various groups of human beings. In one place the brain and the muscles were developed for purposes of hunting or herding animals in rigorous climates ; in another the action of the sun produced supine habits ; thick skulls, crisped hair, the black and unctuous skin of the Negro. Such was the origin of race ; a natural process which has a tendency to become artificial, and to remain in effect long after its actual causes have passed away, but which is, perhaps, destined to ultimate absorption in the crucible of culture.

Let us briefly consider how the peculiarities of the chief existing races have arisen, and see what hope there is of casting India's horoscope from the signs so presented.

Disregarding, as still in need of further investigation, the various theories on which the German and American schools have, from various grounds, attempted to establish the original diversity of types in the human family, it may be possible to trace the main stem of intellectual development with some, at least, of its branches. Whether or no the supposed "missing link" shall ever be discovered, there seem to be some reasons for supposing that, in the extant phenomena of *infancy* and *idiocy*, traces of what man once was may still be observed. And the organic differences still existing among the different systems of *speech* seem to point to a period when men had none but the most rudimental means of expressing their wants and feelings one to another.

First, as to the phenomena of infancy and idiocy, it should be remembered that these are at first almost coincident with one another, and with savage nature. An idiot is little else than an adult infant. Apart from those whose arrested development is

due solely to accidents succeeding birth, the characteristics of healthy idiocy are smallness of skull, diminutive stature, awkward movements, inability to articulate or to enumerate, and a general uncleanness and helplessness. Out of 574 idiots observed in an asylum, it was found that nearly one-half had no mental faculties superior to those of a child under seven years of age; and the greater number could not speak distinctly. Similar phenomena were exhibited by boys brought in from the jungle (said to have been found in wolves' dens) in different parts of India. In addition to these peculiarities, which they share with infants, idiots are invariably short-lived. Now here, to all appearance, we have the mental characteristics of a reversion to the primal type, such as occurs in regard to every kind of cultivated organism. Physically there is, no doubt, a difference. To have maintained his existence in the struggle with beasts and with the elements, the primal man must have had a bodily force and activity not usually found in idiots. But the wolf-boys have it; and its absence in idiots can be easily accounted for by the circumstances of their birth. Coming from weak parents, and carefully nursed by those parents in their childhood, they would naturally grow up without acquiring those physical qualities which would have been essential to their maturer existence in a wild condition, and which their wilder congeners—the so-called wolf-boys—accordingly possess, in those rare instances in which they live long enough to come under observation.

Nor is the evidence from language less suggestive. Attempts, which promise to be completely successful, have been lately made to show that the principal cultivated (or "inflectional") languages, such as Hebrew and Sanscrit, have had a common, though a very remote origin. But there are other languages which have not, and never could have had, anything in common with either of those types—except so far as they resemble them in their object—the communication of man with man, the means by which they reach that end being quite different. In the Chinese, for instance, there is no written equivalent of letters or syllables, there are neither adjectives, cases, tenses nor verbs. Each idea has to be represented by a more or less arbitrary hieroglyph; and each word depends for its power upon its place in the sentence where it occurs. It seems impossible that two such diverse notions of language could have had their origin in concert, or similarity of condition; and there must have been a time when the ancestors of each race first began to articulate, each on principles variously suggested by the circumstances of each.

The probability, flowing alike from these facts and arguments

and from the analogy of earlier evolution, is that there existed in the tropics, more than 20,000 years ago, a creature, often going on all fours, * with *cerebellum* nearly as large, perhaps, as the *cerebrum*; but with a tendency to stand and walk erect, and a brain wanting in complication and deficient in convolutions, but still beginning to grow and overlap the occipital organ. And that the right line of ascension from this went, through a race which became inhabitants of the upper part of Mesopotamia, after descending the slopes of Elburz; and so on to the early emigrants from those regions, and ultimately to modern Teutonic and Latin Europeans: other branches being more or less failures or comparatively useless branches.

The steps that drove the primal man so far north as the plains and mountains that border the Caspian, we cannot know. The very continent—the so-called Lemuria—that is supposed to have once sustained his wandering tribes has disappeared. A sort of human being seems, by the evidence of the caves, to have existed in Europe 20,000 years ago, but of what ancestry, and whether or not autochthonous, cannot be known. All that we know is that *Genesis* furnishes our first written record; that in that book the thinking man first appears on the elevated plateau of Ararat, † and that Abram afterwards commences his career by leaving the same neighbourhood. The Bible nowhere says that there were no human beings before Adam and Eve, as may be seen by collating Gen. I., 26.7, with Gen. II., 7.22. These passages indicate a knowledge of at least two races of men. See also VI., 1,2. Judging from the modern races of Circassia and Armenia, who are not known to have been previously settled elsewhere, the first inhabitants of the Caucasus were fair in skin, with regular features and soft hair. How long they had inhabited those highlands we have no means of ascertaining; but it must have been an immense period, if, as we are left to suppose, it sufficed to produce these physical characteristics from the conditions which they brought with them from Lemuria. Attracted at length to the sunny slopes of Aram, a land lying between Lebanon and the Tigris, they ultimately divided into two streams, of which one wandered to Canaan and Egypt, the other settling in Mesopotamia and Elam. Each of these streams encountered previous settlers, of a type

* A gentleman once assured the writer, that as he was returning to camp after a day's shooting in Northern Rohilkhand, a creature bounded out upon him from some long grass. In an instinct of preservation he levelled his rifle and

fired. The monster fell dead, and on examination proved to be a wild man covered with hair and going upon his hands and feet.

† In Armenian this word means "Plains of the Aryans."

entirely different from their own. Still referring to *Genesis*, which, whenever it may have been edited in its present shape, appears to contain the oldest traditions; the races thus encountered were "children of Ham," members of a division of mankind nearer to the original than the Caucasians or Armenians. * The sons of Ham were Cush, *Mizraim*, Phut and *Canaan*; Cush begat Nimrod, whose empire included *Babel* and *Accad*. From Mizraim came the *Philistine* and *Captarim*, with other races; from Nimrod those who went out into Assyria † and founded Nineveh. Canaan begat *Sidon*, *Heth*, &c., "and afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad" (Gen. IX). The migration of the race of Eber takes precedence of the movement of the Chaldeans (or by whatever name we are to know the Eastern stream), in its vast importance, and is therefore attributed rightly to the voice of the Lord. For the present, leaving the Eastern emigrants to struggle with the Accadians and other tribes that they met in Mesopotamia, we turn our attention to the sons of Abram and their fortunes. Only noticing, as we pass, that the researches of the late George Smith have shown that the very early traditions of the creation and the deluge are common to the Hebrews and Chaldeans, thus proving that they once lived together. The first country that the Western emigrants came to, after leaving Ur, or Aram, was called, apparently, after one of their body, "Haran;" and this seems to suggest that they remained there some considerable time. It was perhaps during this stage of their tribal life that the seed of monotheism germinated in their hearts, destined hereafter to revolutionise the civilised world. From Haran, again, called by Jehovah, who appears for some time henceforth as their "jealous" tribal God, they once more departed, and settled this time between Samaria and Jerusalem, in the very heart of Palestine, "and the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen XII, 6. 9). Thence, moved by want of food, they passed on to Egypt; at that time, it seems, inhabited by the sons of Mizraim, the Copts and the ancestors of those Philistines who afterwards so vexed the chosen race. Henceforth for about five centuries, according to Biblical chronology, the Hebrews continued to oscillate between Egypt and Palestine, finally conquering a settlement for themselves in the last named country about 1450 B. C. ‡

* The names italicised are those of which we must take particular notice.

† Auth: vers: in margin.

‡ Modern Egyptologists assign a later date to the Exodus which

is held to have occurred under Menephtes or Amenophis, son of Rameses II, about 1300 B. C. (19th dynasty.)

Their religion, their civilisation ceased to spread or to progress ; its only later developments, Christianity and Islam, not taking place till they had lost their national independence and their home in Palestine.

Let us return to the Eastern, and as it proved, main stock. The names of *Ararat*, *Armenia*, *Aram*, together with the abnormal comparative and superlative of the word for "good" in Greek, and the use of the words *Ariane*, *Arya*, by the Persians and ancient invaders of Northern India, seem to show that the early "Aryan" white colonists of Central Asia and Western Europe were originally, as already suggested, the congeners of the primitive Hebrews. Physical considerations had already led some ethnologists to class them together as the "Caucasian" family ; and their languages, now so widely different, have recently been traced to supposed archaic resemblances, such as to permit of the supposition of a common origin.* Here, therefore, we may note that the old distinction between "Semetic" and "Iapetic" must be either abandoned, or so far altered as to employ the latter name, not for the civilised peoples of Europe, but for the older races of Northern Asia and the early settlers of the adjoining continent. By these, indeed, it has long been claimed ; the great conqueror Taimur, in his autobiography, distinctly stating that his Mongol ancestors asserted themselves to be descended from *Hazrat Yafith* (Japhet). This statement is, no doubt, opposed to the best modern authorities, but the considerations by which it is supported (briefly as they are sketched above) will probably be ultimately accepted. If so, it will have to be concluded, by those at least who in any degree adopt the ethnology of *Genesis*, that Gog and Magog, *Meschech*, *Gomer*, and "the rest of the tribes of Japhet, who possessed the isles of the Gentiles," are represented, not by the

* The Aryan race must, however, have long maintained a separate existence after the "Shemites" parted from them. For, as remarked by Max Müller, the names of familiar domestic things are common to all Aryan languages. Whatever opinion be adopted as to the authenticity of *Genesis*, or as to its genuineness as the work of Moses, which it nowhere professes to be, there can be no doubt as to the bulk of the work containing the most ancient historical traditions of the human race. The ignoring of what we are apt to consider as ancient seats of empire, and the concurrence of various parts of

the narrative with the earliest Assyrian records are very strong marks of its antiquity. In Gen. X., II. Nineveh is an unimportant place, classed with Rehoboth and Calah, but evidently subordinate to Resen, a place of which we hear nothing from later history. Tyre, so great in the days of David, is not even mentioned. It may be concluded that the earlier parts at least of the book were written before the Aryan colonisation of Europe could have been known, even if it had begun to take place. This confirms the supposition, suggested in the text, as to the true meaning of "Japhet."

present dominant nations of Gaul, Germany, Muscovy, &c., but by the so-called "Allophylian" tribes whose origin cannot be otherwise accounted for; the Lapps and Finns of the North, the Euskaldunes of the South, among whom still lingers that strange abnormal tongue called the "Basque," and perhaps some of the proscribed families, like the Cagots. In the Basque language, indeed, it is thought that Tartar affinities have been recognised. To this race may probably be referable the Indian aborigines; the Eskimos, Mexicans, Peruvians, &c., together with the Pelasgi of Europe and other extinct races. Finally it is necessary just to glance at the family which, remaining in the same latitudes as the *Alalos*, has preserved most similarity to that type. This is the largely-spread tropical group described generically as Negro. Their common characteristics are well known, a small facial angle, a large cerebellum, woolly hair, a black skin, long arms, and mis-shapen legs with prehensile feet. As the first change of climate produced the races here called "Japetic," yellow, small, beardless, wandering, yet capable of some progress, so the absence of such change only allowed the still lower development of the Negro. He has not contributed to the history of the human mind, and we may here finally take leave of him, as of one of Nature's failures, like the ornithorhynchus or the manatee.

As Monotheism was the distinctive mental feature of the Semitic departure, so we find a peculiarity common to the Eastern stream of Aryans. Settling first as pastoral people in the cloudless plains of Mesopotamia their attention was first drawn to the heavenly bodies, and their earliest religion was that afterwards known as Zabism, still lurking, it is believed, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, among a people who to this day speak a corrupt kind of Chaldaeo-Aramaic language. The Sabæan religion, out of which this system originated, appears to have been a kind of dualistic worship in which the host of heaven were regarded as mediators. In the oldest Assyrian monuments we find traces of this system, in which the planets, as then known, constitute the chief hierarchy. Thus in the Birs Nimrud of Babylon has been traced the "House of the Seven Spheres," of which the lower story was dedicated to the most distant of then observed planets, Saturn, and so on, in succession, up to the moon (*Ferguson*). Going eastward the system underwent gradual changes. The dualism was preserved, intensified indeed by tribal dissensions, while the planets were expelled from the sanctuary, excepting the sun and his earthly representative, fire. The early Aryan invaders of India took this system with them, but seem to have had a tendency to deify

powers who appeared to the Persians to be rather of a hostile or dæmonic nature. Along with their dualistic religion these races had imbibed a similar constitution of the social system. Influenced originally by some such conflicts as are hinted at in the allusion to "sons of God and sons of men" in *Genesis*, the early Aryans conceived of mankind as divided into good and bad, the "twice-born" and the remnant; and thus, it may fairly be supposed, originated the strange system of *caste*. Accordingly it is proposed to call these Eastern Aryans by the title of *Homo dissidens*, as their Western brethren are called *Homo monotheos*. The *Avesta*—or at least the earlier portion of it, containing the five *Gathas of Zoroaster*—coincides in language and doctrine, even in metre, with the earlier Vedas so closely as to demonstrate their common origin; and the herculean labours of its discoverers have been rewarded by a most interesting recovery of a lost chapter in the history of the Aryan mind. Yet the Vedic Aryans must be regarded as having been driven south by the hostility of their Zendic brethren.

The next branches of the race that need here be mentioned, are the Slavs and the Tadjiks, or Sarts, the urban population of Persia, Bactria, &c. All use some form of Aryan speech, but have become more or less abortive for mental purposes. So long, that is to say, as they remain unmixed; or interbreed in a deleterious manner; for there is good reason to suppose that, when combined with other suitable breeds, they are capable of considerable performances. Thus the modern Russians* are a happy mixture of Slavs, Tartars, and Teutons; while their opponents, the Turks, are also a mixed race, compounded of Mongolian, and Tajik elements, with a considerable infusion, in recent times, of pure Caucasian from Georgia and Circassia. The Hungarians, again, are blended from the union of the Magyars with the original Huns, a late wave of what has been called the "Iapetic" invasion of Europe, and with the Germans.

Indeed all the European races have assumed, at the period that we have now reached, so much of kinship that the attempt to distinguish them by zoologic nomenclature must here cease. All existing civilised mankind is, more or less, of the stock of *Homo pulcher*. To this indeed also belong the ineffectual Kelts and the urban races of Central Asia; but these, remaining in their ancient seats, or at all events ceasing to colonize, have ceased to be progressive. Europe was colonised, and the aborigines were dispersed into corners of the continent by the more adventur-

* The Russian skull is said to be still the smallest in Europe.

ous spirits from Asia ; whose descendants, encountering multifarious surroundings, have generally maintained their mental and physical restlessness and activity. So that what Europe has been for Asia, that the colder parts of America and Australasia promise to become for Europe.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way." *

The early civilisation of Europe was naturally rough and imperfect, though pregnant with the embryo of the future. First in Greece, then in Italy, the Tyrrhenian † Pelasgi established their primal arts, agriculture, land-surveying ; the use of the trumpet in war ; navigation ; and that description of architecture which is most appropriate to durable sepulchres. Then came the Aeolians, the Dorians, and other tribes of Greece ; and Italy was occupied by kindred tribes, not much later. After the lapse of about seven centuries the old European system culminated in the mighty dominion of Rome. In the meanwhile the Iberians, the fair Kelts, the Cimbri, the Belgæ, had spread their lively bands over central Europe, from the Crimea to Spain and Ireland ; but had conduced, it must be confessed, as little as possible to European progress, save perhaps in the direction of poetry and folk lore.

The main stem of human development was to be carried on by a different race. Whether or not descended from the ancient Getae, who—under the name of Jats—followed the old Aryans in later days to Northern India, the Goths had been a noticeable tribe in Europe ever since the days of the Macedonian Empire. Their settlements soon spread from the shores of the Baltic to the mouths of the Danube ; and they had, in more than usual measure, the tendency, so common among all the cognate barbarian tribes, to migrate from the North to milder and more productive climates. In the third century of the Christian era they invaded the boundaries of the Roman empire, and effected conquests in Dacia and Mæsia, where they overcame and slew the Emperor Decius. Soon after they overran Greece ; and became divided into Ostro-Goths and Visi-Goths. The latter, the Goths of the West, as is well known, sacked Rome under Alaric in 410, then attacked France (without success), and finally settled in Spain, till their power was broken by the Moors at the battle of Xeres de la Frontera in 711. The Eastern branch, or Ostro-Goths, in the meantime, founded on the ruins of Rome the wide but transitory empire of Theodoric, overthrown by Narses, the great rival of Belisarius, at the battle of Sentaglio A. D. 553. In their

* See final note.

† The names "Tyrrhenian" and "Tyrol" possibly point to a Turanian origin.

short but wide-spread power the Goths made their mark and left it upon Europe. Without claim to the exclusive credit of the architecture that bears their name, they were among the first to adapt the Romanesques style to modern ecclesiastical purposes ; and, so far back as the fourth century of the Christian era, they gave the first great impulse to modern thought in embracing the doctrine of Arius, and producing a vernacular translation of the Scriptures. They were thus the direct spiritual ancestors of that Teutonic rebellion against the formal orthodoxy of Rome which, from Luther to Strauss, has done so much for the emancipation of the human intellect. Other tribes of cognate origin and language, who have figured in their time as Lombards, Vandals and Franks, have now merged in the general population of the various lands in which they settled. This fusion, with the admixture of Latin law and theology, has built up the various storeys or strata of mediæval and modern civilisation ; the feudal system, chivalry, representative institutions, and, finally so far, the integration of society where individual liberty is co-ordinated to a strong central government in the civilised states of Europe and America.

The generic name of the Germanic races is a derivative from the Gothic word for "people," *theud* ; and at this day, if we wish to see the majesty and might of a united people, we must turn our eyes to the modern representatives of the Goths, the High Dutch and Low Dutch of the modern world, and their middle term, the Franks.

That world, as we see it, is still divided among the original three races. The Caucasian or Aramaic, the Yellow, and the Black. Broadly, it may be said that the tendency of the first is to an oval skull with progress ; of the second to a pyramidal skull with stationariness (or rather retrogression) after a certain degree of achievement ; of the third to a prognathous skull with total incapacity, as a race, for anything but imitation. The population of India, being to all appearance a combination of the three, presents an uncertain problem. Consisting of races that have, for the most part, descended from active colonists, it has its share of Aryan activity ; it has also a strong element of stagnation and decay. The ethnology of India is in a very unsettled state. It is not certain whether the Dravidian peoples of the South are of the same stock as the aborigines and low-castes of other parts of the country. But this much is clear, that many, if not most, of the inhabitants, are non-Aryan by origin, whatever be the creed and customs that they have now embraced. The Aryans from Persia have conquered the North ; Egyptians, perhaps (as Rajah

Siva Prasád thinks), immigrated into the West ; the Arabs, Afghans, Turks, and other Mohamadans have spread their belief, manners and blood over the whole Peninsula. The British have laid their civilisation over the country like a thin veneer. Can we say that real progress has begun from any of these influences, or that progress is even now seriously beginning ? The answer is not so plain as would be pleasant ; but it must be faced.

Were it possible that a new day of Pentecost^{*} could dawn to-morrow, in which the creed and manners of Christendom might be suddenly and generally introduced into India, such an occurrence would be matter rather for regret than for rejoicing. For institutions to succeed, they must grow out of the people's evolution—at the very least they must not meet with any incongruous antecedents. The people of India have had none of the evolution that has led to modern Christian society ; their antecedents have been of an incongruity amounting to antagonism. Such freedom as they have ever had has been surrendered ; such chivalry as has ever been possible, has been quenched in selfishness, obliterated by the harem curtains. They are less ready for the admission of Western thought and practice than they were in the palmy days before the Musalman conquest, when Vikrama had his Round Table at Ujain, and Káli Dása produced literature that has had the honour of being admired by Goethe.

By that time the Hindu mind had taken its first spring, and temporary exhaustion was at hand. Beginning with simple invocations to the powers of Nature, the firmament, the sun, the winds, the dawn, the proto-Aryans of Northern India lived for centuries a simple, happy life, until gradually perplexed and sophisticated by the Mephistopheles of metaphysic. This habit of philosophising without a verifiable basis or a true scientific method, led the mediæval Hindus into barren speculation and a burdensome ritual, and, from *Manu* and the *Mahábhárat* downwards, is a corresponding degradation, which, of itself, goes far to show that the Hindu mind had never looked in the right direction or possessed the key of the palace of truth.

The people of India are sometimes likened to children. No comparison can be more misleading. The characteristics of ideal adolescence are vivacity of mind and body, together with frankness of manner and a keen observation. The people of India have not only none of these qualities, but are remarkable for the reverse of all, being indolent, sly, unobservant in a most remarkable degree. Nor has their history ever shown the true

elements of progress, adaptability, unselfishness, multifariousness in concentration. Owing to misfortunes over which they can have had but little control, this amiable and interesting race has for centuries been subject to a stolid conservatism, an absence of public spirit, a sameness without cohesion, which have been fatal to improvement.

Looking back for a moment at the course of history, in East and West, we see that, while Asia produced great empires, Europe was receiving warlike colonies. But it was the refuse that remained in Asia; the elect of Nature went forth to Europe. The vast empires were little more than chaotic aggregates of clans, consolidated but rarely, and originally under the temporary rule of a great chief, submitted to mainly for purposes of migration or war. The war or migration completed, the chief dead in battle or murdered by a rival, immediately the tribes reconstructed their weak ties, and followed fresh leaders. Eventually a rare genius like Nimrod, Darius, Khublai Khán, or one of the old Hindu kings, formed his followers into what looks like a counterfeit of national life; but it soon took a semi-inanimate form. Meanwhile the colonisation of Europe was undertaken by all the active spirits who, from time to time fretted for freedom within those freezing limits, and thus, going forth fighting among themselves and with the earlier inhabitants, they consolidated into nations and prepared the beginnings of modern life. Those whom they left behind, stagnated. The word "freezing" was used above; the metaphor is just. The hard band of *custom* closed round the Asiatic races (as each finally settled down) after the manner of a wall of ice in an Arctic winter. Each tribe, or set of tribes, cramped in its own ramparts, lived like a besieged garrison, depending on its intrinsic and unaided resources, and without news of the external world. National existence thus became no better than an indefinite gelatinous uniformity, powerless for organisation or improvement. In this state the races of Persia and India were found by the Greeks: in this state they were conquered by the Arabs. Islam introduced for a while a more intelligent scheme. Carrying out in a proper way the principle of division of labour, encouraging art and letters, and holding up in military life the invaluable prize of *la carrière ouverte aux talens*, the Mohamadan of the middle ages formed, in many lands, an imposing and apparently cohesive aggregation of subject states. In India this resulted, at one time, in the eclectic empire of Akbar, which gave so fair a promise of national life. But the distinguishing merits of Islam could not resist the combined influences of a relaxed Mohamadanism and a strict system of *dustur*. With-

out strong religious convictions, without sea commerce or external warfare, the lazy, luxurious Chaghatais, or Mughals, succumbed to the influences of an enervating climate and a facile manner of life. The congelation of the old Hinduism resumed its work; "petrefaction" perhaps would still better express the process. Immigration from Central Asia gradually ceased; and, after the fallacious appearance of a Musalman revival in 1761, the power that had civilised Spain, Africa and Mesopotamia, and founded the military monarchies of Turkey and Persia, once more proved itself incapable of permanent political organisation.

The new hope is that, where Islam failed, a purer faith may prosper. It has already been suggested elsewhere* that there are strong reasons for doubting whether the Gospel has much power in India. But the work of civilisation may be done indirectly. Many of the omens are favourable.

Both in war and in trade, the people of India have been, during the past hundred years, brought into contact with foreign nations. That contact has, in some instances at least, acted continuously, and must have exposed India, almost for the first time, to a continuous stimulus of new and heterogeneous surroundings.

The rest must depend chiefly upon the people themselves. If what has been called "the cake of custom" be not too strongly closed upon them by the long process of a disastrous past, then the national character may yet revive. If not petrefaction will go on, until its victims meet with the fate of the other ancient communities, of which the Indian was the last survival; those mammoths of human history, the empires of Mesopotamia, Media, Mexico.

It is conceivable that this issue may be averted. Let us hope that it will be. If so, the means employed will, perhaps, be not so much a direct propagation of religion as a method which, to some very excellent persons, may seem to have a savour of impiety. The fearless and uncompromising establishment of demonstrable truth is the only remedy against error, and the only kind of truth that agrees with this description is the truth of the phenomenal universe.

The gulf stream is now setting upon us with constant, genial action, not only from Europe but from North America; and before its mild influence the mental crust appears disposed to yield. Positive dogmatism has not effected, is not likely to effect, very much. Here and there the ascendancy of intellect and character—as in the case of the late Dr. Wilson of Bombay—may

* *Calcutta Review*, No. 136. Art: "Religion in India."

attract and subdue a few disciples. But these men at once become isolated from the mass of their countrymen, and lose their power exactly when it would be most beneficial. If the people of India were in the state of infancy sometimes supposed,* they might accept dogma as readily as did the Syrians and slaves of the old Roman world, the Saxons in Britain, or the South Sea Islanders, of our own time. But they are not children; as a nation they have grown very old, and they possess systems of thought and conduct which, however bad for them, have grown with their growth. Whatever they may have to learn, they have more to unlearn, and the wall of custom is the first object of attack. *Dastur* is to be regarded as the outwork of their moral Bastille. Caste, superstition, almost all the conservatism of the country, must be battered with every weapon in the arsenal of civilisation. Immobility, alike of mind and of body, must be turned into action; manufactures, mines, inland and outland commerce, must be freed and encouraged: be the intermediate process never so annoying, status must give way to contract. The work before the British in India can be compared to nothing else; even the labours of the French encyclopædists in the last century are trifling as weighed against this, for the revolution in Europe must have come, in some shape or other, even had they never been. If Western influences aid the people of India to emancipate themselves, the British rulers of this land will have performed an achievement that will glitter on the page of history, when the greatest performances of the greatest conquerors are forgotten, or only preserved as warnings and examples of wrong. One suggestion may be offered respectfully to those indigenous reformers, the educated natives. It will do no good to look back. The Vedas and the mediæval Sanscrit literature (very remarkable productions no doubt), are yet things that grew up under special environments which have, for the most part, ceased to exist. We are now in the age of steam, and steam-printing; the sun has been weighed and analysed; the *Ushas*, and *Maruts*, and *Aswins*, have been found out to be no deities, but only phenomena of the same nature, and liable to the same laws, as a glass of drinking-water, or a child's pop-gun. The past has no secret to disclose, no lesson to convey, "Act, act in the living present," and so prepare a bright and happy future.

To sum up; the modern Hindus and Musalmans of India, appear to be a mixture of the relics of ancient and over-powerful races, with certain backward tribes. They have not, unless in

* See for instance the otherwise at the end of Mr. Val Prinsep's shrewd and sympathetic dissertation *Imperial India*.

some of the minor arts, contributed to the intellectual or moral progress of mankind for many long ages. Like other peoples of whom the same may be said, they must either become extinct (which is not likely) or degenerate into barbarians, or, lastly, mingle in the main-stream of modern civilisation ; a consummation that we must all desire and hope for. The accompanying diagram is an attempt to illustrate this by fixing the place of India among the principal mental stages of man's development, not to show, necessarily a tree of physical generation. It will be seen to be founded on a belief that mental, like all growth, is regulated by one general law. That law may be called "the working of successive failures." Ever since our planet began to cool sufficiently for the support of protoplasm, Nature appears to have been aiming at the production of a creature that should bear rule upon its surface ; a being who could master the secrets of the earth and the connected orbs, could till the soil of the planet, dig through its crust and survey the circumambient spheres. From the first cells she only produced the Monera, and the abortive infusional developments that followed. But at last a Moneron engendered something which, time and other conditions favouring, grew into Worm ; and the true start had taken place. Many more failures, it is true, intervened ; and it must have seemed—to a watcher from another world, if such may be imagined—that our earth's zoology was at one time in danger of perishing among the tribes of insects, at another of ending in the *cul-de-sac* of the Marsupials. But nevertheless there was a stem, a line of true progress, formed after many failures ; the true ape succeeded to the semi-ape ; and at length—many thousand years ago—primal man appeared upon the scene. Still the goal, though visible, had not been reached. Like earlier forms, arthropods, sauropsids, whales, mammoths, bats, the Negro also was an *impasse*, a type of being abortive for the great purpose. But, when the necessary circumstances arose, the true type at last appeared. General form had been established, mental organs henceforth caused the main differentiation. A human being appeared with a brain capable of infinite convolutions, overlapping the hind-brain and increasing, boundlessly, the power over relations of time. Then arose the cognition of those relations in their higher character, memory, foresight, the historic sense, astronomy, religion.* From the wild inhabitants of the tropic woods to the parents of Abram, the friend of God, was not only a step upward, it was a diversion for a fresh, and in the end, a prosperous endeavour.

* "An devout astronomer is mad."

In the very dawn of this Being's existence we see the promise of a perfected type of humanity on the shores of the Caspian Sea, differing in many particulars from the woolly Negro and the tawny beardless little Tartars. Four thousand years ago this race had begun to have thoughts of God. Soon they apply their mental superiority to objects, and lay the foundations of astronomy ; invent phonetic writing ; † become priests, prophets, architects, historians, poets. From that central race, (here called Caucasian), comes all modern culture, the fruit of the Bible, the Vedas, Homer, and the Koran. Wandering in fertile lands and healthy climates, their descendants culminate in the progressive races of modern Europe, and the New World, mixed, but all Caucasian at the root.

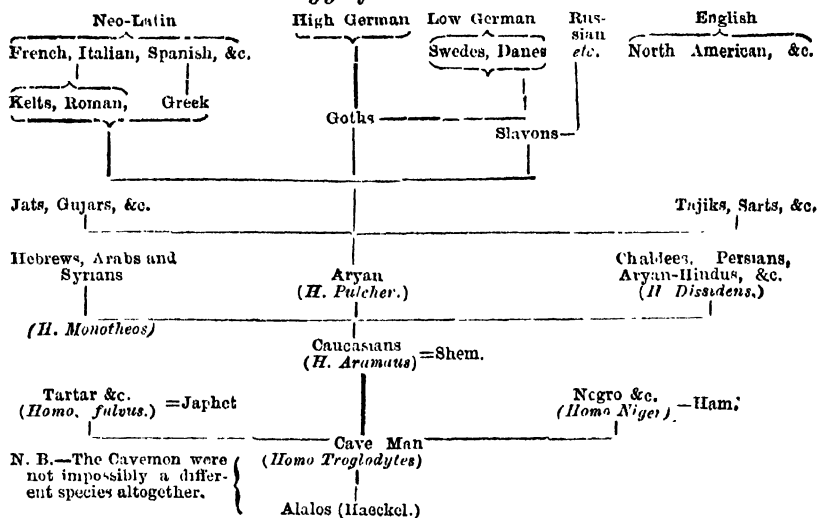
H. G. KEENE.

NOTE.—The colonisation of Europe is thus viewed by Montesquieu : "Greece colonised Italy, Italy Spain and to some extent Gaul. We know that the great Hesperia, so famous among the ancients, was originally placed in Greece, which was supposed by its neighbours to be the region of bliss : the Greeks, who did not discover in their country this land of promise, went to look for it in Italy ; the Italians sought it in Spain : the Spaniards in Portugal and elsewhere : so that each of these regions in succession bore this name with the ancients. Wherever they wandered, these colonists carried with them their love of liberty. Presently we shall see that the peoples of the North and of Germany are no less free ; and if traces of monarchy are to be found amongst them, it is only because they have made kings of the leaders of their hosts or the presidents of their commonwealths. Meanwhile Asia and Africa have always remained under the weight of despotic institutions. . . . It would seem as though liberty were made for the genius of Europe and servitude for that of Asia. . . . When Cæsar appeared, he put the Roman Republic under arbitrary power. Europe long groaned under a violent military government. . . . But unknown nations issued from the North, spreading like torrents in the Roman provinces : dismembering them and making them into kingdoms. Yet their kings enjoyed but a limited authority, being properly no more than chiefs and generals. . . . Some of these races, like the Goths and Vandals, deposed these kings when they ceased to please the people ; in the cases of others the royal authority was kept within bounds, shared with the peers of the realm, whose consent was needed before the nation could go to war. No taxation in the interest of the monarch ; the laws enacted in a general assembly.

† Phonetic writing is to be noted as one of the greatest steps in generalisation that man ever took. Some races, like the ancient Egyptians and Chinese, never took it

DIAGRAM.

Genealogy of the Human Mind.



The ten families on the top line are to be recognised as a fusion, in unequal parts, of the elements of European ethnology. The Gothic blood—more or less—flows in the veins of all. Race is only so far significant, in regard to these, that, where there is most Gothic blood, there will be the most love of freedom and intellectual growth. The lateral branches show races either obsolete or non-progressive. The Hindus have been left far behind among these barren types. It is not dogmatically asserted that all the steps are those of true physical descent, though an attempt has been made to exhibit such a connexion.

ART. IV.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS. PART III.

THE first and second articles of this series have presented to the reader the genesis and the organisation of the earliest philosophy of India. As to its origin it has been shown that the primitive Indian thinkers sought to provide the means of escape from the miseries of metempsychosis, that they sought for a principle that should explain all things, for “that which if it were known, all things should be known,” and that they sought to give consistency and coherency to the pre-existent data of popular thought and faith.

As to its organisation it has been shown that it posits one sole reality, the impersonal Self, paramātmā, Brahman. The apparent duality of subject and object, and all the seeming variety of experience, arises from the association of this impersonal Self with an inexplicable illusion, neither existent, nor non-existent, from all eternity. This illusion is *Māyā*, *Avidyā*. As associated with this illusion, or, as it is often called, with this power of cognition and action, *jñānakriyāsakti*, the impersonal Self is manifested as the Demiurgus, *Isvara*, the world-projecting deity. As illusorily limited to this or that body and mind, or technically speaking to this or that internal organ, the impersonal Self is manifested as this or that personal self, or transmigrating spirit. The highest truth is that the personal selves are one with the Demiurgus, and the Demiurgus one with the impersonal Self, their apparent differences being only figments of the cosmical illusion.

Such is the teaching of the Upanishads, and such is the teaching of the greatest of the Indian schoolmen, S'ankarāchārya. The philosophy of S'ankarāchārya is nothing else than the philosophy of the Upanishads, painted out again in sharper outline and fresher colours. The doctrine of *Māyā*, of the unreality of duality and of plurality, is a vital element of primitive Indian philosophy. It is essential to the life of that philosophy. To prove that it is so, is the purpose of the present article. The thesis before us is that the unreality of the world is part and parcel of the philosophy of the Upanishads.

This has been denied, and denied generally, since the time of Colebrooke. In his essay on the Vedānta read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1827, Colebrooke said : “The notion that the versatile world is an illusion (*Māyā*), that all that passes

to the apprehension of the waking individual is but a phantasy presented to his imagination, and every seeming thing is unreal and all is visionary, does not appear to be the doctrine of the text of the Vedānta. I have remarked nothing which countenances it in the Sūtras of Vyāsa nor in the gloss of Śāṅkara, but much concerning it in the minor commentaries and elementary treatises. I take it to be no tenet of the original Vedāntin philosophy, but of another branch, from which later writers have borrowed it, and have intermixed and confounded the two systems. The doctrine of the early Vedānta is complete and consistent, without this graft of a later growth."

It is to be hoped that it is already clear to the reader of the two earlier articles of this series that the unreality of the world, and the sole reality of the impersonal Self, is the very image of the totality of things set up in the Upanishads. Any statement of Colebrooke, however, carries with it so much weight, and his present statement has been so often repeated by subsequent writers, that it demands articulate examination. In the absence of all that is historical, the development of Indian philosophy can only be traced in the nature of its constituent conceptions, and the position of Colebrooke, if untrue, will throw darkness over the process of its evolution. The thing to do, therefore, at this stage of our inquiry is to show that this thesis of Colebrooke's will not hold.

Part of Colebrooke's statement is, on the face of it, untrue. He says that he finds nothing in the gloss of Śāṅkara that countenances the doctrine that the versatile world is an illusion. This portion of his thesis has already received its correction at the hands of Professor Cowell, in his edition of Colebrooke's Essays, vol. 1., p. 400. "This is hardly correct as regards Śāṅkara, since in his commentary on II. 1. 9., he expressly mentions the doctrine of *māyā* as held by the teachers of the Vedānta, and he quotes a śloka to that effect from Gaudapāda's *Kārikās*'. Cf., also his language in the opening of his commentary on the second book. There is also a remarkable passage in his commentary on the Aitareya Upanishad, I., 2. It may be objected that a carpenter can make a house, as he is possessed of material, but how can the soul, being without material, create the world? But there is nothing objectionable in this. The world can exist in its material cause, that is, in that formless undeveloped subject which is called soul, just as the subsequently developed foam exists in water. There is, therefore, nothing contradictory in supposing that the omniscient, who is himself the material cause of names and forms, creates the world. Or better

still, we may say as a material juggler without material creates himself as if it were another self going in the air, so the omniscient deity, being omniscient and mighty in *māyā*, creates himself as if it were another self in the form of the world." Colebrooke's statement as far as regards the gloss of S'ankarāchārya is utterly mistaken. A cursory inspection of that gloss would show that the doctrine of illusion is supposed on every page. It is often stated explicitly. This shall be proved by an abundance of excerpts.

In regard to the text of the Vedānta, or the Sūtras of Vyāsa the question is not quite so easy, the Sūtras, or aphorisms, being pretty nearly unintelligible in themselves and apart from the traditionary teaching, to which they serve only as a minimum of *memoria technica*. It shall be shown, however, that though not the term *Māyā*, yet the thing it signifies, the unreality of duality and plurality, is to be found in the Sūtras. Colebrooke himself cannot have attached much weight to what he imagined to be the negative testimony of these aphorisms. As he himself says: "The S'ārirakasūtras (*i. e.*, the aphorisms of the Vedānta) are in the highest degree obscure, and could never have been intelligible without an ample interpretation. Hinting the question or its solution, rather than proposing the one or briefly delivering the other, they but allude to the subject. Like the aphorisms of other Indian sciences, they must from the first have been accompanied by the author's exposition of the meaning, whether orally taught by him or communicated in writing." This is most true, and let it be noted that S'ankarāchārya is the greatest of the prescriptive expositors of the Sūtras. The Indian systems were handed down in a regular line of succession, an *āchārya-paramparā*, an unbroken series of exponents. S'ankarāchārya, and his doctrine of illusion are in possession. The burden of proof lies with the other party, with those who pronounce the doctrine of *Māyā* to be an innovation on the primitive philosophy of the Upanishads.

Before examining the aphorisms of the Vedānta and the gloss of S'ankarāchārya, it will be proper to look at the Vedic authority on which the system of the Vedānta reposes. The Vedānta is only an explication and systematisation of the teaching of the Upanishads. In fact the word Vedānta is itself a synonym of Upanishad, and the Vedānta system and the Upanishadī Mimāṃsā or philosophy of the Upanishads, are one and the same thing.

Ascending perhaps higher than the Upanishads, we have the Nāsadiyasūkta, Rigveda X. 129, the celebrated hymn

beginning *Nāsad āsīn no sad āsīt*, "Non-entity was not, nor entity, no worlds were there, no sky above." Putting aside the opinion of Colebrooke, and this we shall find to rest only on the assertion of an opponent of the Vedānta, there is no reason to question Sāyana's interpretation of this hymn. Sāyana's interpretation is the traditionary exposition. The same exposition is found, for example, in the *Padayojanikā*, Rāmātīrtha's commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's *Upadeśasahasrī*, and in the *Atmapurāṇa*. According to Sāyana the *Nāsadīyasūkta* is in this verse exhibiting that state of things in which a former world has been retracted, and a later world not as yet projected, the state of things technically known as a state of dissolution, *pralayaāvasthā*. In this state of retraction, says Sāyana, the principium, the *mūlakāvana*, of the versatile world, of the spheres of fruition of transmigrating spirits, is not a nonentity. It is not a purely chimerical thing, not a piece of nonsense, like the horns of a hare, for the world cannot emanate out of any such sheer absurdity. Again, it is not an entity, not a reality like the impersonal Self. The principle here spoken of is neither nonentity nor entity, but inexplicable, a thing of which nothing can be intelligibly predicated. No denial of all reality is intended, for it is said further on in the hymn, "That one breathed without afflation." Real existence is refused, not to the impersonal Self, but to the cosmical illusion, *Māyā*. Such is the traditionary explanation of the first verse of the *Nāsadīyasūkta*. It refers to *Māyā*. The reader will find the rest of Sāyana's exposition of this hymn in a former article of this Review, entitled *Ancient Indian Metaphysics*.

That the unreality of the world is preached in the Upanishads, ought to be plain enough to the readers of the two former articles of this series. It is implied in that doctrine of the sole reality of the impersonal Self that is the most emphatic teaching of all the Upanishads. It will be as well, however, to produce again without delay a few of the texts that deny the reality of the world.

In the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad* we read :

"This same imperishable principle is that which sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought, knows unknown. Other than this there is none that sees ; other than this there is none that hears ; other than this there is none that thinks ; other than this there is none that knows. Over this imperishable principle the expanse is woven, warp and woof.

As in dreamless sleep seeing the spirit sees not this or that, so seeing the self sees not : for there is no intermission in the sight of that that sees, its vision is imperishable ; but there is

nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should see.

As in dreamless sleep hearing the spirit hears not this or that, so hearing the self hears not: for there is no intermission in the hearing of that that hears, its hearing is imperishable; but there is nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should hear.

As in dreamless sleep thinking the spirit thinks not, so thinking the self thinks not: for there is no intermission in the thought of that that thinks, its thinking is imperishable; but there is nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should think.

As in dreamless sleep knowing the spirit knows not, so knowing the self knows not: for there is no intermission in the knowledge of that that knows, its knowledge is imperishable; but there is nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should know.

Where, in waking or dreaming, there is as it were, something else, there one sees something other than oneself, smells something else, tastes something else, says something else, hears something else, thinks something else, touches something else, knows something else."

The qualification "as it were" is noteworthy, *yatra vā 'nyad iva syāt*. In another passage of the same Upanishad we read:

"This same world was then undifferentenced. It differentiated itself under names and colours, such an one having such a name, such a thing having such a colour. Therefore this world even now differences itself as to name and colour, such an one having such a name, such a thing having such a colour. This same Self entered into it, into the body, even to the finger-nails, as a razor into a razor-case, as fire resides in the fire-drill. That Self men see not. That whole Self breathing is called the breath, speaking it is called the speech, seeing the eye, hearing the ear, thinking the thought. These are only names of its activity. He then that thinks any one of these to be the Self, he knows not, for the Self is not wholly represented by any one of these. Let him know that the Self is the Self, for in the Self all these things become one"

Here it may be remarked that the most frequent name in the Upanishads for the inexplicable principle associated with the impersonal Self, is *avyākṛta*, the undifferentenced, the unevolved. And the creation or manifestation of things is usually termed their differentiation as to name and colour, *nāmarūpavyākaraṇa*. In another passage we read:

"They that know the breath of the breath, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear, the thought of the thought,—they have seen the fontal spirit primeval, existing from before all time. It is to be seen with the intellect only. In it there is nought that is manifold. From death to death he goes who looks on this as manifold. It is to be seen in one way only. It is unthinkable, it is imperishable, unsullied, beyond the expanse. Unborn, infinite, imperishable, is Self."

Here the "expanse," *ākāśa*, is by S'ankarāchārya explained to be a synonym of *avyākṛita*, the undifferenced, the unevolved. In another passage of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad the duality of subject and object is denied, and the very term duality, *dvaita*, is denied.

"Where there is, as it were, duality, there one sees another, one smells another, one hears another, one speaks to another, one thinks of another, one knows another; but where the whole of this is Self alone, with what should one smell, with what should one see, with what should one hear, with what should one address, with what should one think, with what should one know, another? That wherewith he knows all things, that how should he know? With what should he know that which knows?"

Here again is the noteworthy qualification, "as it were," *yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati*, where there is a quasi-duality. In another text of the same Upanishad, very often cited by the Indian schoolmen, we read:

"Who is the Self? That spirit which consisting of cognition, amid the vitalising airs, is the light within the heart. This Self being assimilated (to the intellect) passes through both spheres of fruition (both this embodiment and the next). It seems to think, it seems to move."

In another passage we read:

"It became the counterpart of every form. This for the manifestation of its form. Indra by his illusions (*māyābhik*) appears multiform. For yoked are his horses, hundreds and ten. He is the horses, ten, and many thousands, and innumerable. This same Self has nought before it or after it, nought within it or without it. This spirit is the Self that knows all things."

The horses, that is, the senses, are hundreds, are thousands, are innumerable as the senses of innumerable sentiences.

The unreality of the world, the sole reality of the impersonal Self, is plainly proclaimed in the following passage of the Chhāndogya Upanishad:

"As by one lump of clay all that is made of clay becomes known, being a modification of speech only, a change, a name, while the

clay is the only reality. As by one piece of iron all that is made of iron becomes known, being a modification of speech only, a change, a name, while the iron is the only reality. As by a pair of scissors all that is made of steel becomes known, being a modification of speech only, a change, a name, while the steel is the only reality. Such is the method of that instruction by which the unheard becomes heard, the unthought thought, the unknown known. Existent only was this in the beginning, one only without duality."

In the Mundaka Upanishad we read :

"As from the blazing fire proceed in thousands its kindred sparks, so from that imperishable principle proceed the diverse creatures, and into it return."

"That infinite spirit is self-luminous, external and internal, without origin, without vital breath or thinking faculty, pure, absolute, beyond the ultimate."

The ultimate here spoken of is, S'ankarāchārya says, the undeveloped, *avyākṛita*, the source of name and colour, the cosmical illusion. Again in the same Upanishad we read :—

"Over this the sky, the earth, the welkin, are woven. The sensory and all the senses know this to be the one Self. Forsake all other words. This is the bridge of immortality."

"There, where the arteries are concentrated, like the spokes in the axle of a wheel, this soul dwells within, manifesting itself in many ways. OM: thus ponder on the Self. May it be well with you, that you may cross beyond the darkness."

The darkness here spoken of is plainly all that is other than the impersonal Self, that is, as S'ankarāchārya says, the sum of trans-migratory existence. The impersonal Self is elsewhere spoken of as "the light of lights beyond the darkness." Further on in the Mundaka Upanishad we read :

"As all rivers flowing onwards disappear in the sea, quitting name and colour, so the sage extricated from name and form, enters into the self-luminous spirit beyond the ultimate."

In the Katha Upanishad we read :

"For these objects are beyond, and more subtle than the senses, the sensory beyond the objects, the intellect beyond the sensory, the great soul (*Hiranyagarbha*) beyond the intellect."

"The undeveloped principle is beyond the great soul. Beyond the impersonal Self there is nothing. That is the goal, that is the final term."

Here the principle from which all things proceed, and beyond which is the impersonal Self, is *avyakta*. *Avyakta* is also called *avyākṛita*, that which has not yet passed over into name and form.

It is the same, S'ankarāchārya says, as the expanse, *ākāśa*, which in the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad is said to be woven across and across the impersonal Self. It is, he also says, the same as the sum of the powers of all organisms and all organs, the germ of all the spheres of metempsychosis.

To cite another passage of the same Upanishad, as translated by Professor Monier Williams in his "Indian Wisdom" (p 44) :—

The sage the truth discerns, not so the fool.
But thou, my son, with wisdom hast abandoned,
The fatal road of wealth, that leads to death.
Two other roads there are, all wide apart,
Ending in widely different goals—the one
Called ignorance, the other knowledge—this,
O Nachiketas, than dost well to choose.
The foolish follow ignorance, but think
They tread the road of wisdom, circling round
With erring steps, like blind men led by blind.

Thus then we have seen that the Upanishads proclaim that there is only one thing that exists, the impersonal Self. They further proclaim that there is a quasi-duality, a differentiation of something previously undifferentenced under names and colours. They teach that the things of the world of experience are a modification of speech only, a change, a name ; that is, that things apart from the impersonal Self have only a nominal existence, the impersonal Self being the sole reality. The undifferentenced, the source of names and colours, is termed the expanse, is said to be woven over the impersonal Self. It is termed darkness, the darkness that must be passed beyond, if we would reach the light. In the Mundaka Upanishad the order of things in which there are sacrificers and sacrifices, works and the recompense of works, in a word the transmigratory process, is called illusion, *avidyā*. "Abiding in the midst of the illusion, having a wisdom of their own, thinking themselves learned, stricken with miseries, they go round and round, infatuated, like the blind led by the blind." That this order of things is unreal is plainly stated. "There is nothing second to that, other than that, apart from that, that it should know."

All this sufficiently proves that the doctrine of *Mayā* is no modern invention. The thought, if not the word, is everywhere present in the Upanishads, as an inseparable element of the philosophy. The picture of things that S'ankarāchārya gives is the picture of things the Upanishads give, only, as has been said above, in sharper outline and in fresher colours. The tenet of *Māyā* is implicit in the Upanishads, explicit in the systematised Vedānta. The doctrine of the early Vedānta is not complete and consistent without it, nor is it a graft of a later growth. In fact

the distinction between an earlier and a later Vedānta is nugatory. There has been no addition from without, but only a development from within, no graft, but only growth.

Thus far it has been shown that the unreality of the versatile world is a datum of Indian philosophy earlier than the text of the Vedānta, earlier, that is, than the S'ārīrakasūtra. The next task is to prove that the tenet is taught in the text of the Vedānta, in the aphorisms themselves, and also in the fullest and plainest manner in the gloss of S'ankara.

Before proceeding to do this, it will be well to point out the source of Colebrooke's error. The mistake arose from his acceptance of the polemical statement of an opponent of the Vedāntins, Vijnānabhikṣu the celebrated expositor of the Sāṅkhya, the author of the Sāṅkhyapravachanabhāṣya. According to Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, Vijnānabhikṣu in all probability lived in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. In his commentary on the aphorisms of the Sāṅkhya, the Sāṅkhyapravachanabhāṣya, Vijnānabhikṣu propounds a theory that the several Darśanas, or systems of Indian philosophy, are successive steps to the truth, the full truth being conveyed by the Brahmanīmānsā, or Vedānta, and the demiurgic or theistic Sāṅkhya, or Yoga system. Each system, he says, is valid for the amount of truth it conveys. Where any system negatives part of the truth, this negation is to be accounted for on the ground that the portion of the truth negated is no portion of the matter that is to be discussed in that particular system. Thus, for example, he would treat the Sāṅkhya denial of an Is'vara, Demiurgus, or world-projecting deity. Or else it may be, he says, regarded as the audacious statement of particular individuals, *ekadesīyānām praudhavadah*. Or we may, he says, regard the untrue portions of any particular system as a test of faith, designed to exclude from the full truth those who are unprepared to receive it, to shut out the incompetent aspirant to extrication from metempsychosis. As part of this attempt to treat the systems as successive revelations supplementary to each other, he tries to force the Vedānta into accord with the theistic Sāṅkhya. Now, the chief obstacle to this is the Vedāntic tenet of the unreality, the illusoriness, of the world. He accordingly pronounces that the doctrine of Māyā is a modern invention of persons falsely styling themselves Vedāntins, but really crypto-Buddhists, an offshoot of the Vijnānavādins, or Buddhist sensational Nihilists. He appeals to a primitive Vedānta in which the reality of the world, and the plurality of selves, the two ruling tenets of the Sāṅkhya, are taught. Such primitive Vedānta is a fiction, as already proved. Vijnānabhikṣu's statement that

the primitive Vedānta taught the plurality of selves has not deceived anybody. His statement that the primitive Vedānta taught the reality of the world should cease to deceive us. The two statements are equally false, though his statement as to the tenet of a plurality of selves or Purushas is perhaps the more glaringly false. Vijnānabbikshu cites a passage of the Padma-purāna in which the tenet of Māyā is said to be crypto-Buddhistic, and to have been proclaimed by Siva in the Kali age, in the person of a Brahman, for the ruin of the world. In the face of the plain teaching of the Upanishads this citation need not relax our conviction. The most it can prove is that Vijnānabbikshu was not the first to stigmatise the tenet of Māyā as a piece of crypto-Buddhism. All that we have to do is to look at the Upanishads, and the aphorisms of the Vedānta, and at their traditionary and authorised interpretation, and to judge for ourselves. Be it remembered, too, that this way of looking at the several systems as progressive instalments of truth is not countenanced in the majority of the books of the Indian schoolmen. The systems are often exhibited in those books as in open hostility against each other. The whole theory of Vijnānabbikshu may be very safely set aside. There is no occasion to give way to the fallacy of learned authority. *ῥσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*

It has been said that perspicuous statements are not to be expected in the aphorisms or sūtras. Colebrooke says that they are in the highest degree obscure, and could never have been intelligible without an ample interpretation. S'ankarāchārya says that they are like a string on which the gems of the Upanishads are to be strung. The aphorisms nevertheless do testify to the unreality of the world. In the first Pāda of the second Adhyāya, section 4, we read that objections have been raised against the doctrine that Brahman, the impersonal Self, is at once the substantial and the moving cause of the world. In the course of this objection it is urged (aphorism 13), that on the supposition of Brahman being such cause, there can be no distinction between the soul and the objects of its knowledge, between the transmigrating spirit and the objects of its fruition. To this it is replied in the same aphorism that there is a distinction, there being such a distinction in our daily experience. "That there is such a distinction," S'ankarāchārya says (p. 442), "is seen in every-day life : thus the ocean is water, and its modifications, foam, ripples, waves, bubbles, are not other than that ocean-water, and yet they differ among one another, are capable of uniting with each other, and there is the name and notion of their so doing. Though the sea be all water, its modifications, the foam, ripples, waves, bubbles,

are not the same thing one as another ; and though they cannot be the same one as another, yet they are all alike nothing else than the sea itself. In like manner subject and object cannot be the same thing one as the other, and yet neither of them is aught else than the one Self." The next aphorism is : "That they are nothing else than that appears from the terms modification &c." The aphorism refers to the text of the Chhāndogya Upanishad : "As by one lump of clay all that is made of clay becomes known, being a modification of speech only, a change, a name, while the clay is the only reality, &c." And this text can mean nothing else than that the many, as many, has only a nominal existence, the sole reality residing in the one. S'ankarāchārya in his exposition of the aphorism says : "The whole order of subject and object, of transmigrating spirits and of their fruition of their works, is unreal, apart from the impersonal Self ; in like manner as the ether in pots and jars is nothing else than the ether at large, as the waters of the mirage are nothing else than the sands of the desert, seen for a while, and disappearing, and having no real existence." Surely here there is the tenet of the unreality of the world in the text of the Vedānta, and the full-blown dogma of illusion in the gloss of S'ankara. Colebrooke is an authority, but in historical researches as elsewhere we must learn to call no man master. Let us look at things with our own eyes. The twenty-eighth aphorism (p. 484) is : "And likewise in the Self there are diversified objects." On this S'ankara remarks : "It is of no use objecting, how can there be in the impersonal Self, a diversified creation, unless its own nature be suppressed ? For in the Self, one as it is, when it is dreaming, there is a multiform creation, without any suppression of its proper nature. We read (in the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad), no chariots are there, no houses, no roads, yet it (the common sensory) projects, or creates, chariots, horses, roads. And in the everyday world gods and jugglers are seen to create multiform creations, elephants, horses and the like, without any suppression of their proper nature. In the same way a multiform creation is competent to the impersonal Self, one though it be, without any suppression of its own essential nature."

"Another aphorism (III., 3. 50., p. 694) is : "And it is a mere semblance." This sūtra occurs in the course of the exposition of the relation of the jīva, or transmigrating spirit, to the Demiurgus, or world-projecting deity, Is'vara. The immediately preceding aphorism had stated that there is no confusion in the fruition of merits, the jīva, or transmigrating sentiency, not being linked to every organism that exists but to one particular body. The author

of the aphorism now says that the individual soul is a mere appearance. "The individual soul," such is S'ankarāchārya's interpretation, "is only a semblance of the impersonal Self, as the image of the sun upon the reflecting pool is only a semblance of the sun. The individual soul is not another independent entity. The sun mirrored upon one pool may tremble with the rippling of the water, and the sun mirrored upon another pool may be motionless. One individual soul, in like manner, may have fruition of its merits, and another individual soul may not have fruition of the same deserts."

So much for the text of the Vedānta. We now come to the gloss of S'ankara. In regard to his teaching there can be no mistake. Here, for instance, is a specimen (p. 342): "If we allowed any independent pre-existence as the emanative cause of the world, we should be open to the charge of teaching Prakriti, as the S'ankhyas do. But this pre-existence, or potentiality of the world that we maintain, is dependent on the Demiurgus, not independent, like that posited by the Sāṅkhyas. This potentiality that we assert must necessarily be admitted, for it fulfils a purpose. For without it there could be no account given of the Demiurgus, as creator, for if he had no power, no *s'akti*, he could not proceed to energise. If there were no such principle, the liberated spirits would again be re-embodied, for they are liberated by knowledge burning up that germinating power. This germinal power is illusion, *avidyā*, indicated by the term undeveloped or unevolved, the great dreamless sleep, the *Māyā*, of the Demiurgus, in which all the transmigrating sentiences, the individual souls, must sleep so long as they wake not to their proper nature. This same undeveloped principle is sometimes spoken of as the expanse, or ether, as in the text of the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad: Upon this undecaying Self, the expanse is woven, Gārgī, woof and warp. At one time it is spoken of as the undecaying, as in the text of the Mundaka :—Beyond the undecaying ultimate. At other times it is spoken of as *Māyā*, as in the text of the S'vetāś'vatara : Let him know that *Māyā* is Prakriti, the source of things, and that it is the Demiurgus to whom this *Māyā* belongs. This *Māyā* is undeveloped, in that it cannot be described as either one with, or other than, the impersonal Self. Hence it is that it is said in the Katha :—This undeveloped principle is beyond the great soul. For the great soul proceeds from the undeveloped, if we take the great soul to be Hiranyagarbha. And if we take the individual spirit to be the great soul, still it may be said that the undeveloped is beyond the great soul, for the individual soul depends for its existence upon the undeveloped. The undeveloped is illusion,

avidyā, and it is in virtue of its subjection to illusion that all the continuous apparent action and passion of the individual souls goes on."

A little further on we read (p. 353): "Until this illusion ceases, the individual soul cannot cease to be touched with merit and demerit, and its individuality cannot pass away from it. No difference is made to the reality, to the impersonal Self, by the accession or by the departure of this illusion. A man may see a piece of rope lying in a dark place, may mistake it for a snake, may be frightened, tremble, run away. Another may tell him not to be afraid, for this is not a snake but a mere piece of rope. As soon as the mistaken person hears this, he may lay aside his fear of the snake, may cease to tremble, and may stop his flight. And all the while there has been no difference in the real thing, the piece of rope, either when it was taken for a snake, or when the error passed away."

In another place S'ankarāchārya writes: "The impersonal Self is untouched by the cosmical illusion, *samsāramāyā*, in the same way as a juggler is unaffected in the present, past, or future, by the illusion that he projects, the illusion being unreal. The dreamer is unaffected by the illusory images of his dream, these not prolonging themselves into his waking hours or into his dreamless sleep. In the same way the one perduring spectator of the three states of waking, dreaming, and undreaming sleep, is untouched by those passing states. For this manifestation of the impersonal Self in the three states is a mere illusion, *māyā-mātrā*, like the snake that takes the place of the rope. It has accordingly been said by a teacher who has handed down the teaching of the Upanishads: "When the soul that sleeps in the primeval illusion wakes up, it wakes unborn, sleepless, dreamless, without duality."

In another place (p. 454) S'ankarāchārya writes: "The omniscience of the Demiurgus presupposes the development of the germ of name and colour, that is, of illusion. From such texts as, "From this same self the ether emanated," it appears that the emanation, continuance, and dissolution of the world is from an omniscient, omnipotent deity, ever pure, intelligent, and free in his essence, not from an unconscious principle, such as the *Pradhāna* of the Sāṅkhyas, or from any other such principle. Name and colour, figments of illusion, one in semblance with the all wise Demiurgus, explicable neither as reality, nor as other than reality, the germs of the world of metempsychosis, are called in S'ruti and in Smṛiti the *Māyā*, the *S'akti*, or the *Prakṛiti* of the omniscient deity. The all-knowing Demiurgus is

other than these, as is said in the text : The expanse is that which differences itself under names and colour, that within which these are, is the impersonal Self. Thus the Demiurgus has, as his adjuncts, or illusory limitations, name and colour, the figments of illusion, as the other has illusory limitations in the jars, pots, and other things that it occupies. In the region of conventional existence he presides over the personal selves, or jivas, identical with himself, as the ether in several jars is identical with the general ether. These personal souls have their several bodies and organs made out of the names and colours produced and presented by the cosmical illusion. Thus, then, the Demiurgus, or world-projecting deity, is a Demiurgus, and has all knowledge and all power, in virtue of limitation by his adjunct, illusion. But all this every-day order of things, in which there are a Demiurgus presiding, personal souls presided over, omniscience in the presiding deity and so forth, in real truth has no place in the impersonal Self, from which all such adjuncts are excluded. And thus it is said : That is the sum of things in which one sees nought else, hears nought else, knows nought else ; and again, When the whole of this is Self, with what should one see any one ? In this manner the Upanishads teach that in the real order of things all that is conventional has no existence. And so also the *Is'varagītā*, i.e. the *Bhagavadgītā*, points out that in the real nature of things the presiding Demiurgus and the personal souls that he presides over, as known in daily life, have no existence. The practical existence assigned to the world-projecting deity in revelation also holds good only in the conventional order of things."

The reader will remember that the Vedāntins allow to the things of every-day experience a conventional existence, *vyāvahārikī sattā*, a being, that is, sufficient to account for all that goes on in daily life. As compared with real existence *pāramārthikī sattā*, which belongs to Brahman, the impersonal Self alone, this conventional existence is nonentity. A lower degree of existence than this conventional existence is apparent being, *prātibhāsikī sattā*, the mere semblance of being, which belongs to the unreal snake seen in the rope, or to the things seen in a dream. There is a lower step in the scale, the absurd, the chimerical, *tuchchha*, as the horns of a hare, the flowers of the sky. *Vijñānabhikṣu* more than once charges the *Māyāvādins* with teaching that the world is *tuchchha*, a mere absurdity, and piece of self-contradiction. This charge is groundless. The reader has already seen how *Sāyana* says that the principium of the versatile world, the *anādimāyā*, is not a purely chimerical thing, not a piece of absurdity, inasmuch as the world could not

emanate from such a principle. This by the way is an incidental proof of the little trust that ought to be placed in Vijnānabhikṣu's statements about his opponents.

In his exposition of the first Pāda of the first Adhyāya (pp 110 sqq.) Śaṅkarācārya points out a distinction between Brahman as associated with the cosmical illusion, and Brahman apart from illusory adjuncts, the *sagunam brahma* and the *nirgunam brahma*. The former is the object of worship, *upāsyaṃ brahma*, the latter is the object of knowledge, *jñeyam brahma*. Brahman, the impersonal Self, associated with illusion, is the Demiurgus, or world-evolving divinity. Śaṅkara writes: "The impersonal Self is understood to have two forms. It is either associated with fictitious adjuncts, particular modifications of name and colour, or it is the reverse of this, exempt from all fictitious adjuncts. There are thousands of texts that proclaim this twofold nature of Brahman, according as it is the object of knowledge or the object of illusion. Such texts are the following:

Where there is, as it were, duality, there one sees another, but where the whole of this is Self alone, with what should one see?

That in which one sees nought else, hears nought else, knows nought else, that is the sum of things. That in which one sees something else, hears something else, knows something else, that is the finite.

That which is vast, that is immortal; that which is finite, that is mortal.

The supreme Self, having evolved all forms, and made all names, abides in activity.

Without parts, without action, unchanging, passionless, unsullied, the best bridge to immortality, like a fire that has burnt up all its fuel.

To be characterised as not this, not that.

Neither great nor small, neither long nor short.

One position is limited, the other full."

In another place Śaṅkarācārya writes (pp. 446-sqq.): "The fictitiousness of every emanation is proclaimed in the words of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, A modification of speech. Truth or reality is astricted to the first cause alone in the words:—Identical with that is all this world. That the personal soul is the impersonal Self, is proclaimed in the words, That is Self; that art thou, S'vetaketu. The recognition that the personal soul is the impersonal Self is the means of putting away the personality of the soul, in the same way that a recognition of the piece of rope as a piece of rope is the means of putting away the false impression that it is a snake. As soon as the personality is sublated

the whole conventional order of things is sublated, in relation to which the lower, or varied, phase of Brahman is imagined. The text, Where the whole of this is Self alone, with what should one see another? proves that to one who sees the identity of himself with the impersonal Self, the whole every-day order of existence, with its agents, actions, and fruits of actions, becomes non-existent. In the passage of the Chhāndogya Upanishad from which S'ankarāchārya has been quoting, there occurs the following simile: "A highwayman leaves a stranger from Kandahar in a desolate waste to which he has brought him blindfolded. The wayfarer knows not what is east, what is north, what is south. He cries aloud for guidance, for he has been brought into the waste blindfolded, and there left. Some passer by unties his hands, unbinds his eyes, and tells him the way to Kandahar, bidding him walk forward in such and such a direction. The traveller goes his way, asking for village after village, and is told and put in the way until he reaches Kandahar. In this manner it is that a man finds a spiritual guide, and learns his way, and proceeds along it till he is liberated, and reaches his journey's end. That which is the transcendent,—identical with that is all this world. That art thou, S'vetaketu." Supposing his reader to be already familiar with this simile S'ankarāchārya proceeds: "The text teaches in the simile of the highwayman that the believer in unreality is implicated in transmigration, and he that knows the truth is extricated from it, and in teaching this proves that unity is the sole reality, and that plurality is projected by illusion, *mithyājñāna*. All conventional modes of being are true, prior to the knowledge that the personal soul is the impersonal Self, as the action and passion of a dream is true till the dreamer wakes out of it. It is thus that all the procedure of daily life and of the Vedic rites is accounted for, prior to the soul's becoming awake to its identity with Brahman. The sleeper sees in his dreams a variety of circumstances and situations, and this is to him, prior to his awakening, real perceptual experience, and so long as he is asleep it is not a mere semblance of perception. Some one may say that if the world is unreal, the texts of the Upanishads themselves must be unreal, how then can any one learn from it the truth that the soul is Brahman? for a man does not die of the bite of the snake he seems to see in a piece of rope, nor does he get any good by drinking or bathing in the waters of a mirage. This objection is of no weight, for men have been known to die of drinking what they have only imagined to be poison. If the objector further urge that on our views the death of the man is also unreal, we reply that, though the snake-bite, the bathing, and so forth in the dream, are

unreal, the apprehension of them is a real fact, not being negated on waking up. When the man wakes up out of his dream he judges the snake-bite, the bathing, and the rest, to be false, but he does not pronounce it to be false that he had the apprehension of it."

It would be easy to multiply proofs that the tenet of illusion is taught in Śāṅkara's gloss. But this is needless. The passages already translated will be sufficient to show that this doctrine is proclaimed as plainly and unmistakably in Śāṅkarācārya's commentary on the aphorisms of the Vedānta as in any of his other writings. Śāṅkara finds this doctrine in the Upanishads. It is certainly to be found there. It is everywhere implied in the idea of the sole reality of the impersonal Self, and not only so, but the reality of duality is denied, and an undeveloped principle, the source of name and colour, an expanse, *ākāś'a*, woven across and across the impersonal Self, is announced. The unreality, the mere semblance of the world, is part and parcel of the primitive Indian philosophy, the philosophy of the Upanishads. This philosophy, like all living things, has had its growth and development, its earlier and its later phases. It has become more and more explicit, but its latest form has its virtual pre-existence in its earliest stage. There has been no addition from without. Vijnānabhikṣu's hypothesis of a primitive Vedānta in harmony with the theistic Sāṅkhya must be set aside. The current opinion that the doctrine of Māyā is a comparatively modern addition to the Vedāntic system will have to be discarded.

The only way in which the Indian systems of philosophy can be handled to any purpose, is by an examination of the conceptions of which they are made up. The picture of things presented in the Upanishads is primitive Indian philosophy. This, then, is a starting-point for the critical treatment of the several systems. We may regret, but we cannot supply, the want of historical data. All that can be done hereafter is to try to follow the genesis of the successive ideas, in the series of theses and antitheses in the works of the various Indian schoolmen. Meanwhile, little trust should be place in polemical statements, such as the statement of Vijnānabhikṣu that has been examined in these pages. Nor should overmuch influence be allowed to Megasthenes' testimony to the veracity of the Indian people in past times. The Greeks are not the best of witnesses to veracity. In this regard the anecdote with which this paper is concluded is not un-instructive. It is taken from Govindānanda's *Bhāṣhyaratnaprabhā*, and occurs in its earliest statement in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*. "It related that the orphan Satyakāma asked his mother to what family he belonged. His mother was engaged in thinking

of his deceased father, and in a distracted manner said, I do not know your father's family, but my name is Jābālā, and your name is Satyakāma: that is all that I know. After this Satyakāma went to Gautama to be invested with the sacred thread. Gautama asked him of what *gens* he was. He said, I do not know my lineage, nor does my mother know it: only my mother told me to go to a spiritual teacher to be invested with the sacred thread, and to tell him that I was Satyakāma the son of Jābālā. Gautama saw, from his telling the truth, that he was no S'ūdra; none but a Brahman if he knew this to be truth would utter it. So he said: My son, you have not departed from the truth. I will invest you with the sacred thread. Go and bring me fuel."

A. E. GOUGH.

ART. V.—BOMBAY : A RETROSPECT.

SO early as 1627, the attention of the Company had been directed towards the acquisition of Bombay. The country in its vicinity was favorable ; it had the advantage of an extensive sea-coast, affording good havens ; the harbour was reported to be safe, and the soundings, a few yards from the shore, indicated unusual depth in the sea. The climate was stated to be sultry, but the sultriness was scarcely greater than in most other Indian stations. It was only for a few days in the hottest part of summer that the heat of the day, unmitigated by the sea breeze, was found to be unbearable. It was known, moreover, to a few of the more enterprising traders who had explored it, that the country which stretched from the Island of Bombay and widened out into the plains of the Concan, was rich in agricultural produce.

At that early period the primitive aspect of the island was unchanged. Where villas now stand, enclosed in their own grounds, there then waved forests of palm trees. Where suburban houses, with their well-kept gardens, are now seen, tracts covered with primeval forests, and land uncultivated, and not even cleared, then stretched along the sea-beach for many miles. Inland, below Malabar Hill, lay the flat unhealthy plains of Coorla.

Beyond these plains, stretching far away in the distance, was to be seen a chain of blue conical-shaped hills covered with shrubs. Gradually fading in the distance, they terminated with the up-lands which form the ridges of the Western Ghauts. Malabar Hill, where the best houses now stand, was terminated at one end by a deep, dark, overhanging wood, then the refuge of startled deer. At the other end it diverged downwards and was merged in the plains. A few narrow, precipitous pathways connected the hill with the city. Beyond the city, narrowing almost to a point, might be seen a neck of land, since connected with the rest of the island, but at that time covered with a few straggling hamlets occupied by fishermen. Between Malabar Point, and the dangerous reef of rocks, now called the Prongs, where a light-house now stands, the scene of many a tragic wreck, the Back bay swept in a graceful curve. Below the hill might be seen a few dark rocks of trap, bald and tonsured with clustering weeds. A wreck of broken wall, cowed with grey-lichens, or covered with green moss, showed where the fishermen had been busy with their nets. A half-demolished ruin bending beneath its weight of creepers, reminded the traveller that there

the Monks of Buddha once made their haunt; and beyond the placid and blue waters of the harbour might have been traced in outline the hill where centuries before the worshippers of Buddha had excavated their rock-cut temples of Elephanta.

Captain Burton, when at Bombay, suggested that an Alpine Club should be started, as the hills in its vicinity would afford scope for exercise. The hill retreats of this presidency would, indeed, not only afford exercise, but also be well adapted for the landscape artist: Matheran especially so. The scenery is bold; the rocks are striking in character; the country, stretching out below, is diversified with shelving banks, through which winds the silvery water of the broad river that flows by Tanna, and eventually debouches into the sea. If foliage can add to the effect of a picture, it is found in every variety of depth and shade on the hill. At Garbut Point, or Louisa Point, many excellent nooks for the sketch book, with rocks and thick masses of foliage, and, looking far below into the valley, still pools giving limpid reflections, present themselves, while the sheer declivities at the edge of the hill would afford scope for broad depth of light and shade. The stunted and gnarled trees growing out from the base of the hill, and in some places lying on the surface of the water, mirrored below in the valley, would make a beautiful foreground if the artist were to take his sketch from below the hill.

In taking a review of Bombay two hundred years ago, we must not omit to mention its harbour. Two hundred years ago, there was not a single dock in the harbour. But it was even then praised by contemporaneous writers for its picturesqueness and beauty. Girt on three sides by green rocky hills, and wooded islands, it offered, even during high gales, a secure refuge to the lateen boats, and Arab proas.

Before Bombay attained to any weight as a maritime city, Callian was supposed to have been the ancient port of the harbour. In 1675, it was described by Fryer as a place of some importance. Its ruins and its architectural remains, the monumental relics, not even then destroyed by the bigotry of the Portuguese, the fanaticism of the Moguls, or the free lances of Sivajee, attested its former maritime importance. Even during the period when it was visited by Fryer, it was distinguished from other towns by its buildings faced with stone, by its numerous mosques and tanks, the costliness of its tombs, the extent of its trades and manufactures. How much it has since deteriorated, may be seen from the houses of the present inhabitants. Tanna superseded it as a trading port, and, with the acquisition of Bombay by the English, this city also has lost much of its former importance.

Bombay was called by the Portuguese at that period by the name of Bom-bahia, or good harbour.* It even then commanded a considerable trade with the vessels in the Persian and Arabian gulfs, and with the western and eastern coasts of India. Cotton was extensively cultivated in the rich alluvial tracts of the country in its vicinity. The cultivation of the Mauritius cane was not then introduced, but from the sugar-cane of the country a large yield of sugar was obtained. Wheat was largely produced in the fields bordering on the sea; and indigo and tobacco were also cultivated. The gardens and orchards were distinguished for their grapes and mangoes, plantains citrons and pomegranates and other tropical plants. Wool ranked as one of the chief exports. Palms of the most graceful foliage studded the island. The Palmyra spread over the coast, and large forest trees yielded the finest timber for ship-building. The population was sparse. In the town it consisted principally of Portuguese, Hindoos, Jains and Parsees. In the streets of the native town wretched huts faced each other; and the shop fronts displayed a trade in dates, and fish, in raisins and almonds, in oil and cotton, in elephant's teeth for bracelets and ornaments, and in hides of the rhinoceros for the manufacture of shields.

At the time of which we are speaking, it was generally held that our trade with the entire western coast would be greatly benefited by the acquisition of Bombay. Bombay was then held by the Portuguese, and there were no diplomatic relations between them and the English at Surat. But such relations might soon be established. If Bombay could not be acquired by treaty, force might be resorted to. There was no maritime force at the time at the disposal of the President of Surat, but it was argued that a force strong enough to overawe the Portuguese might easily be organized. At Surat they had no forts strongly garrisoned, nor did the harbour allow of men-of-war anchoring safely within reach of the town. At Bombay it was argued that they could have both a safe harbour and the protection of armed ships. Once strongly fortified, their Presidents would have it in their power to make war against hostile races, to extend their territorial possessions, to send or receive embassies, to enter into amicable alliances with native princes and chiefs. It was evidently impossible that the Court of Directors could refuse to listen to arguments so specious. In 1827, therefore, an attempt was made to gain possession of Bombay. The Dutch were invited to share in the spoils; and a joint expedition of Dutch and English ships was fitted out. General Harman Van Speult was appointed

to the command. The vessels sailed from Surat, but the untimely death of the Dutch General put an end to the expedition, and the Portuguese were thus left in undisturbed possession of Bombay for a few more years.

During the summer of 1653 the question was revived. Despatches were again forwarded to the Directors in London, the president at Surat stating that it was necessary for him to hold an insular fortified station which might be defended in times of lawless violence. No place was better suited for this than Bombay. He represented that their trade and their commercial relations with the natives were every day increasing, and it was to their interest to fortify either Bombay or Surat. Unfortunately, however, just when these despatches were forwarded, Cromwell's attention was absorbed by more important continental politics.

The Protector's foreign policy was at that time directed towards making England the head of the Protestant interest in Europe. The civil Government of England was being reorganized. The military force, which was at times even beyond the control of that stern dictator, was being brought under the strictest of military discipline.

One hundred ships, under the command of Monk, Dean, Pen, and Lawson were overawing the Dutch fleet near the coast of Flanders. War had been declared between the two republics, and each was eager to establish its right to the supremacy of the seas. The Protector of the Commonwealth had not, therefore, time to discuss the question submitted to him by the Company relative to the affairs of their factors in a remote and unknown corner in India. Cromwell had no envoy at the Court of Agra. Whether the Indian trade should be crushed or extended, whether it should be protected by the whole strength of the republic or left to itself, were questions of far less importance to him, than the most trifling ones that affected European politics. The question submitted by the Company was, therefore, set aside for a more favourable opportunity. But what could not be effected by direct application was shortly to be achieved by accident. Charles II had ascended the throne in 1661. Catherine of Portugal, to whom that monarch was betrothed, had landed at Portsmouth, and was soon to be married to him. An alliance more close than that which had been entered into between Cromwell and Portugal was about to be entered into between Charles and Portugal. The dowry which the Princess Catherine brought with her, included the cession of Tangiers in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies.

To take possession of the Infanta's dower, a fleet of five ships was ordered by Charles to sail for Bombay under the command of the Earl of Marlborough.

The Earl of Marlborough, on arrival, anchored in the spacious harbour, in which now ships from nearly every quarter of the globe may be seen. He directed a strong detachment under the orders of his second in command to land immediately, while he himself made no delay in making the Portuguese Government acquainted with his mission. A Portuguese viceroy was present at Bombay ; and, the English demand having been placed before him, an answer was returned that whatever the arrangements might have been which had been entered into by the King of Portugal and the Cortes with the King of England, they had received no instructions to cede the island. As no terms could be entered into, Marlborough, leaving a small detachment on land, under the command of Sir Abraham Shipman and Cooke, left the island. Sir Abraham Shipman died shortly after he landed, and to Cooke was left the difficult task of managing the expedition. He signed a condition accepting the cession of the island.

There can be but little doubt that if Marlborough had resorted to arms, and had been aided by the British at Surat, the island of Bombay would have been quickly wrested from the feeble grasp of the Portuguese, and with it, Salsette, Callian, Carunjier and the other dependencies.

But Marlborough hesitated. The troops which were entrusted to him, he did not think adequate for the coercion of Bombay. When setting sail for India he did not anticipate any resistance. He was not therefore prepared on his own authority to make war on the representatives of a nation which at that time was at peace with England. He left the small detachment on the island whilst he himself set sail from Bombay. Cooke entered into further negotiations with the Portuguese. They allowed him to occupy the island, but on terms so humiliating that, when they were known at Whitehall, the Government of Charles immediately ordered his recall, and appointed Sir Gervase Lucas in his place.

Sir Gervase Lucas was a royalist, and a man of a stern, uncompromising character. He soon became remarkable for the vigour and energy of his administration. His manners were polished, his conversation was lively. In his relations with the Portuguese Government he betrayed signs of impatience, but an impatience which was nevertheless highly characteristic of determination.

In one instance, when hesitation was displayed by the Portuguese Government, he immediately threatened to resort to arms and to drive them out of the island. In another instance, when Cooke, smarting under his recent humiliation, threatened to join the Portuguese, he denounced him as a rebel and a deserter. In a

third instance, when the Portuguese Government refused to concede a tract of land in the island, as a grant for the Jesuit's College at Bandora, and threatened to resort to arms, Sir Gervase pronounced their resistance to be an act of treason, and declared all the Jesuits' lands to be forfeited. His political principles were tinged with much of the bigotry which at that period characterised the extreme royalists ; but those who most disliked him did him the justice to own that, if his conduct was harsh, his acts were free from injustice.

Sir Gervase, in spite of his irritable temper, developed some administrative qualities. He roughly estimated the revenues of the island, and found that they amounted to 25,000 xeraphins, or £6,490 sterling. His regulations for developing the resources of the island were liberal. He invited traders from other ports. He took off every restriction from particular religious worship. Protestantism was declared the religion of the land, but it was not compulsory to join the Protestant Church. To induce Europeans to settle in Bombay, exemption was granted them for five years from the payment of customs duties, and the manufacture of cotton and silks was encouraged. The old fort, owned by the Portuguese, was rebuilt and strengthened, and concessions of land near the fort were made for building purposes. A nucleus of a town was thus formed in 1668, which, within a period of two hundred years, in spite of an unhealthy climate, intense heat, the apathy of the natives, and great vicissitudes in trade, has increased in population and extent until it has risen to be decidedly the second city in British India.

In private life, where schemes of policy were not concerned, Sir Gervase was admitted to be an amiable and a good-natured man. Whatever his enemies may have had to say against him, it is certain that his energy, his determination, and his stubborn will, were the qualities which were required in a ruler who was deputed to govern an alien settlement, and to enforce order amongst alien races. It was unfortunate that Sir Gervase Lucas should have so soon succumbed to the climate of Bombay. He had scarcely been seven months there when he fell a prey to its insidious influence.

He died on the 21st May 1667. He might be said to have been the first Governor of Bombay. He was succeeded by Captain Gary, of whom little is known and still less recorded. He does not appear to have had any administrative talent. The old irreconcilable antagonism between the Portuguese and the English settlers seems to have been revived. He found that the revenues of the island and town of Bombay were not adequate to support the military force under his command, and that there

was little or no trade in Bombay. He himself was no trader, nor was he a fiscal officer. He was there more in a military capacity than in an administrative one. To raise the revenues of the island, or to obtain any large dividends from trade, was beyond his province. The rains had set in, and many parts of the island were soon changed into immense pools of stagnant water. The unhealthiness and sultriness of the climate engendered disease among the troops. Cholera had already begun to appear, and a few settlers had added to the death roll of the year. He was afraid that the disease might spread. The Company's settlement, where skilled medical aid could be obtained was two hundred miles away from Bombay; but two hundred miles in those days represented many days of wearisome travelling. He argued that it would be wise under these conditions to give up the island. His representations were accordingly submitted to the Crown. Bombay was described as a pestilential swamp, and it was stated that its government would cost more than its produce. Charles was thus induced to cede Bombay to the Company, and the island was conferred on them by Royal Charter. The terms of the charter are curious. It conferred the island on the Company "in free and common socage, as of the Manor of East Greenwich, upon the payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold, on the 30th of September of each year." The Company accepted the grant, and Sir George Oxenden, who was then President of Surat, hastened to assume the charge of the island. Mr. Goodyer was deputed to take over charge from Captain Gary, who surrendered the government to him. To the Company the acquisition of Bombay was a considerable gain. They had for a number of years been eager to acquire it; they would have consented to a considerable sacrifice to obtain it, and they had now obtained it without any sacrifice. They determined therefore to occupy it, and to 'develope its resources. They were not certain of success, but they were, at least, on this island, their own masters. The chances of success were greatly on their side.

They had a *tabula rasa* to work on. There would now be no collision of interests between the British trader and the native official. For the Portuguese, they did not care much. Indeed there was no reason why the Portuguese trader and the English trader should not make common cause. Their factories and counting houses might be built in close proximity to the Portuguese settlement. Portugal and England were then on the best possible terms, there was no reason why the representatives of those nations in India should not be on equally amicable terms.

It was necessary that the Company should fortify the island and add to their military strength. During the governorship of Captain Gary no line of policy had been drawn out; no common object had been publicly avowed by the Portuguese and the English; no party was pledged to any policy; no definite views as to the future defence of the island had been expressed; no measures for the development of its resources had been taken into consideration. It was now thought necessary to undertake such measures as were necessary to render the island safe from the invasion of enemies, and enable the English settlers to derive a profit from their new investment. A line of fortifications facing the sea was commenced. The natives who were already located in the town, and the natives who lived in the hamlets in the vicinity of the town, were invited to establish themselves as manufacturers and traders. Native spinners and native weavers were offered considerable rewards for their labors. Every influence was exerted to attract to the English town cotton dealers and cotton merchants; and the manufacture of cotton stockings, successfully carried on in the Portuguese town of Goa, was ordered to be commenced at Bombay.

The manufacture of cotton cloth, too, was encouraged. The Company's factors purchased their own cotton from the cotton-growing districts, stored it up and served it out to the manufacturers. The cloth so manufactured, under the superintendence of factors, was finer in texture and quality, than that which could be purchased in the best of the native markets. The remuneration of workmen who displayed the finest skill was increased.

The rate of remuneration was much less in the year 1662 than it is now; but although the wages of manufacturers in India were low, it is certain that the produce of Indian looms was then superior to most English textures.

The city of Diu sent some of its best cloth manufacturers to Bombay.

The factors of the Company on their part guaranteed to the native traders the free exercise of their religious rites, freedom from taxation and perfect immunity to act according to their own local usages and customs.

Not only were cloth manufacturers thus invited, but mechanics and artisans also were induced to settle in the new town. The native town rose rapidly; but it was ill-built, irregularly laid out, and badly designed. The English buildings which rose in close neighbourhood, were, in an architectural sense, not much superior. Indeed, even in the present day there are few buildings in Bombay that can be said to be either grand or imposing.

There are scarcely any which, in an architectural sense, would vie with the worst specimens designed by Brunelleschi, with the most immature compositions of Alberti and Palladio, with the worst creations of Wren. The remarks that apply to Bombay, would, with the exception of Calcutta, apply to nearly all Indian towns or stations. Houses have been erected, and towns have been built, without any design towards effect.

There has been no effort at improvement; no abandonment of old and rude forms; no radical change for the better; no attempt at order and decoration. While architecture in other parts of the world has to a certain extent been progressive, passing through a transition period, from an entire abandonment of mediæval forms to its present state of development; in India design and style have, whether in public structures or in private edifices, been alike neglected. It is only recently, and within the last twenty years in Bombay, that an improved style of buildings have been constructed; and that comfort and elegance have to some extent been studied. Thirty years ago only two bungalows were built on Malabar Hill; the Wilderness and the Beehive. Many of the recently constructed bungalows at Malabar Hill and at Parel are elegantly built. Pretty gardens and terraces slope towards the sea. The rooms of the houses are spacious and airy; while the principal banks and merchants' offices, the town hall, the cathedral, the chamber of commerce, the currency office, and the mint and railway stations, and the new palatial public offices are, in an architectural point of view, not inferior to any similar edifices in India. Its lines of railway radiate to all parts of India, to Madras, to Calcutta, to Nagpore and Jubbulpore; to Baroda, to Agra, Delhi, and Lahore, and its telegraph wires connect it with the most distant outposts of India.

Mons. Siegfried who has published his tour round the world in 1867 and 1868, has given us an interesting account of his recent recollections of Bombay. He resided in a bungalow on Malabar Hill, which he pleasantly describes:—

"Picture to yourself, on the slope of a hill, a large garden full of brilliant flowers growing in the shade of banana and orange trees. In the centre rises a pavilion consisting only of a ground-floor, where the rooms are all on one level and communicate freely with one another. You enter by a spacious verandah, where eastern sofas and easy chairs invite you to indulge in a *dolce far niente* during the hotter part of the day. The body of the principal building contains the drawing-room, and the charming dining-room, of which I shall presently speak. To the right lie the owner's bed-room and the bath-room attached to it; to the left is the stranger's room. The whole is very roomy and

airy, open day and night to the breeze, which blows freely through the shutters. There is but little furniture in the drawing-room, which gives it all the lighter appearance. All the furniture is of blackwood, carved in open work according to the fashion of the country.

As regards the dining-room, it deserves special mention. Mahomet himself could not have devised anything more charming for his paradise. It is not a room, it is nothing more than a verandah, open on three sides and over-looking the gardens and villas which cover the slope of the hill and extend to the sea, whose tranquil surface stretches out into the far distance.

There, after a hard day's work, it does one good to dine and prolong one's talk over dessert while inhaling the freshness of the night and marking the moon's reflection on the sea or on the foliage of the palms.*

The time to enjoy Bombay is the cold weather. Bombay is seen at its perfection then, and the sea looks its best. In the rains it is sometimes warm, and this vapoury heat will always detract from it, though even in the rains on some days it can afford to be charming. When the rain has done its worst ; when the storms have cleared away ; when the sea is calm, and the sky is blue ; when the soft sea-breeze springs up from the waves, Bombay may be endurable even then. Still, except during the winter months, there is a certain undefinable sense of warmth which will always forcibly remind one that he is, although on the sea, not at Torquay, or Babbicombe, or Margate, or Hastings, or Boulogne, but at Bombay. Those who remember the feeling which is experienced—one not unpleasant in itself—when they enter the first chamber of the Turkish bath in St. James's Street, dear to retired Anglo-Indians and to the clubmen of St. James—can form some idea of what is experienced in the end of May in Bombay, just before the rains set in, when the heat is at its greatest in the plains. With the commencement of June the summer season in Bombay ends, and the pleasure-seekers of the charming hill retreats of Matheran, Khundalla, and Mahableshwar, prepare to return to work, and to Bombay. Of the three hill stations, Khundalla is the most accessible, Mahableshwar the coolest, and Matheran the most picturesque.

The traveller who first lands in Bombay, even now, will be struck by the absence of any really good hotel. But for the private enterprise and public-spirit of a citizen no longer living, there would not now be a decent hotel in the vicinity of the

fort. There is a very good one at Byculla. Every year the number of travellers lauding at Bombay increases. But Bombay is as backward in hotel accommodation as Constantinople. Unlike other cities it has neither real comforts nor amusements. It has up to the present not even an opera house. Two hundred years ago it had not a single hotel; it had no amusements. As regards civilization and sources of social amusement it would not be wrong to say that any confessedly dull continental city is further advanced than Bombay. If even with its present hotels, its gas and water-pipes, Bombay is still, in many respects, wanting in ordinary European comforts, it must have, in the time of Sir Gervase Lucas, and of those who succeeded him, been absolutely unendurable. The Rev. Ovington, an English chaplain who visited Bombay two hundred years ago, suggested that the epithet of the "unfortunate islands" should be applied to it and to its sister islands. When he visited it, he found that there was little corn or cattle; that the heat was intense; that fruits and vegetable were scarce, and that a present of "a sheep or two from Surat was an acceptable present to the best man in Bombay." The water, too, was bad; as bad and as scarce "as the meanness of the diet."* Mr. Ovington remarked the rapidity of growth of the vermin, of spiders and of snakes, and it was asserted by one gentleman, who had but recently landed, that he believed it rained frogs. Both Mr. Ovington and Mr. Frier were impressed with the marked unhealthiness of the island owing to its climate.

Two centuries have done much to mitigate disease. Cholera, it is true, has not been extirpated, but science and sanitary measures have done much towards removing some of the most fruitful sources of this frightful disease. Native hospitals have been built where men may have their wounds dressed, or to which they may be taken in event of severe sickness; but the English hospitals are still a reproach to the Government.

At the time when the English first took possession of Bombay the mortality was great, the island was said to be the focus of pestilence; and cholera, termed by the Portuguese practitioners the Chinese death, ravaged the island.

It was stated that Europeans could not live in Bombay without falling a prey to this disease and that of every five hundred who arrived there not more than one hundred ever left. In order to provide a remedy, a hospital was erected and a skilled medical officer was placed in charge. In addition to this evil, small-pox occasionally made its appearance, and the hospital statistics proved that this disease was more virulent than

any other. It will be remembered that Doctor Jenner had not, until more than a century afterwards, made his interesting inquiries as to the nature of this complaint in Gloucestershire where he resided, which resulted in the discovery of vaccination.* There were no vaccine boards established in Bombay in the year 1662, and some very popular but very erroneous notions as regards that disease prevailed among the settlers. To these may be added the results of hard living, and in too many cases, the evils of drunkenness. The Deputy Governor of Bombay, in language not remarkable for classic ease or elegance, writing to the directors in London on the mortality in Bombay, stated that, "Strong drink and flesh is mortal, which to make an English soldier leave off is almost as difficult as to make him divest his nature; nay, though present death be laid before him as the reward of the ill-gratifying of his palate, this is the true cause of our Bombay bills of mortality having swelled so high."

But if liquor was abundant, the early settlers at Bombay had good reason to complain of the scarcity of animal food. One of the clauses of the regulations which were then issued for the better Government of the island and its small community, was that no kine should be slaughtered for animal food within the precincts of the native town. This concession, which would now be considered ridiculous, was granted on account of the religious feelings of the Hindoo population. It was sacrilege to kill a cow; and, if the settlers required animal food, a part of the settlement had to be set aside where oxen or sheep might be killed and sold daily.

Occasionally so great was the scarcity of meat that European soldiers and sailors had to fast on two days in each week.† Nor was the table of the officers better supplied.

* At this period the finances of their Company were in a most embarrassed condition, but, singular to say, their servants never were in greater affluence, and their credit was sustained by advances from them, while trade was so oppressed, and weighed down with imposts, that but little could be transacted.

The climate also, Bruce remarks, instead of improving was deemed more pestilential, and year by year disease swept away its victims with a rapidity truly alarming. Of seven or eight hundred Europeans who inhabited Bombay before the war, not

more than sixty were left, and there were but three civilians to carry on the Company's business. It therefore became necessary to close the Courts of Admiralty and Common Law. Children suffered equally with those who arrived at maturity, not one child in twenty surviving.—*Calcutta Review*, No. 4, p. 27.

† "In consequence of the scarcity of flesh meat, European sailors were required to pass one or two days in the week, just as good churchmen were in England by the writers of the Homilies in order that the fisheries might not be ruined. On

It was not so, however, with the factors who succeeded them. They were accustomed to dine luxuriously. At Bombay a large factory had been built facing the sea. At Surat the factory was called the lodge, and was rented of the Emperor at sixty pounds a year. At Surat forty Europeans generally resided within the walls, at Bombay not so many. The Surat factory had a large balcony on the first floor ; the Bombay factory overlooked the sea. It must have been pleasant for them to sit in the cool of a winter's evening, and watch the distant barques, as they floated on the blue sea, of which glimpses could be obtained from the overhanging balcony. But it was not alone to indulge in the harmless recreation of looking out on the sea that the inmates of the factory too often resorted thither after dinner. A basset table was frequently to be seen there. *Rouge et noire* and *picquet* were played at smaller tables. In the inner rooms the rattle of dice might often be heard. Whist and ombre varied the amusements of the evening. Piles of rouleaux of gold, and glittering silver pieces spoke of a well-supplied bank. Play, and sometimes heavy play, formed the amusement, if not the serious business of the factors. The pursuer of the factory often occupied the place of the *croupier*, or the *tailleur* at the table. Carousing and smoking was often continued until a late hour at nights. As many as twenty players were frequently assembled. The bets often ranged high. Nor was card playing and gambling confined only to the factors' lodge at that period. The infection was caught by the idlers outside the lodge ; and even young recruits, lately joined as privates, gambled away their hard-earned shillings. It could not be said of them, as of Regnier's more fortunate gambler, that they sometimes won, and were happy.

" Q'un joueur est heureux !

Sa poche est un trésor

Sous ses heureuses mains le

Cuivre devient or."

Gambling with the private soldier led to drink, and excessive drink, too frequently to an early grave.

It is to be regretted that English society in India at that period should not have been free from vices which were even then bitterly commented on by the presidents of Surat. Those, however, were vices from which society even in England was not free at that period, and from which society in many parts of the world is not free even at present. A century later some stringent acts had to be enforced for their suppression.

these days hungry lads were only permitted to eat *kicharie*, a mixture of rice and spilt pulse ; so because they con-

formed to the habits of the Hindoos, they termed these days *banian days*." — *Unpublished Records.*

• In India at the present day gaming is put down by law, and lotteries are unrecognized by the State as a means of raising revenue. But in the seventeenth century, and even later, gambling formed at once the amusement and the curse of society in India.

At Surat, the factors at the lodge usually dined together. Rules of precedence were strictly observed. The president, as chief factor, occupied the chair at the head of the table. Seats were assigned to the accountant, to the store-keeper, to the purser of marine, to the chaplain, to the secretary, and to the junior factor, according to their seniority. Company's peons in the service of the factors attended in the hall, or sometimes waited on their masters. The dinner was served out on silver. Gilt flagons were placed before the president and the principal factors. Hock, burgundy, and punch flowed freely. The provisions were of the finest quality. The factors' mess was rich enough to provide itself with Portuguese and French cooks.

Sundays were looked upon as special days for feasting—* and the factors' rules provided that, on those days, the choicest of Persian wines, the best champagne and the best old port should grace the table. If extravagance and reckless expenditure characterized the factors of the year 1662, it is but just to add that in their dealings with the natives, they endeavoured to impress them as representatives of a distant nation with the riches of their masters in Leadenhall Street. When the president left the lodge, a royal salute was fired. He sometimes rode on horseback; he was frequently seen mounted on an elephant

* "Dissoluteness and immorality of the most fearful and debasing kind were universally prevalent, and this added vigour to the attacks of the climate."—*Calcutta Review*, p. 271, vol. I.

"It must be admitted that the Company did all in their power to arrest the progress of vice at Bombay, but as the English nation was in the midst of an iniquitous career, to which the first impulse had been given by that mean debauchee mis-called "the Merrie Monarch" and his court, it was not to be expected that a warning voice from London would gain respectful attention in India. As an earnest of their desire to secure more moral and religious conduct, the Directors wrote:—"The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committees of the East India Company, having

been informed of the disorderly and un-Christian conversation of some of their factors and servants in parts of India, tending to the dishonor of God, the discredit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the shame and scandal of the English nation, make certain rules and regulations with a view to render the religion we profess amiable in the sight of those heathens among whom they reside, and to prevent all profane swearing, and taking the name of God in vain by cursed oaths, all drunkenness and intemperance, all fornication and uncleanness. If any persisted in committing these sins they were to be deported back to England."—*The English in Western India*: Philip Anderson, A.M., Chaplain.

with silver trappings. An umbrella of state, in imitation of the great Mogul who ruled at Delhi, preceded him. Horses richly caparisoned, mounted by his orderlies, followed him. An empty palanquin, or sometimes a vacant covered cart, drawn by oxen, was to be seen behind him. His presence was ushered by a sound of trumpets. Standard-bearers, a guard and a band of musicians accompanied him. On all occasions he imitated the state of the grand Mogul, or his deputies.

His processions through the streets were sometimes, and on special occasions, as picturesque as the city pageants which attend on the Lord Mayor's procession from Cheapside to Westminster. Large sums were spent by him to pay his extensive retinue.

It was not unusual for the President to keep a number of horses. These were usually paid for from State funds. A sword-bearer was frequently required to be in attendance. It has been recorded that sometimes forty, sometimes sixty, ushers used to be in attendance at the lodge. Nothing could be more imposing than an official visit of ceremony with native chiefs. Although traders on sufferance, it must be allowed that many of the early Presidents arrogated to themselves a semblance of power which was never irritated by the Dutch factors, and rarely equalled by the French Governors, by the men of the stamp of Duplex and Labourdonnais. At the lodge front, used to be ranged, previous to the arrival of the native chiefs, a line of soldiers, the body guard of the President. Extravagance so great drew down the censure of the Company in London. The Directors wrote strongly and curtly. They censured the conduct of their Presidents and annulled their titles. They reduced their salaries to three hundred pounds a year and designated them simply agents.

The salary of the second in council was fixed at a hundred and twenty pounds a year, and that of the junior factors at forty pounds a year. It was not until a few years later that the Company found it necessary to place restrictions on private trading and to increase the salaries of their servants. But if such is the record of the lives of the early presidents and factors of Bombay, it will be remembered that even among them were to be found a few whose characters were very different, and the records of whose lives stand out in relief from the pages of past history, as able representatives of the character of the nation which had delegated them to the East. They were not many in number, but they ably represented, surrounded as they were by an alien race, their nation. It was to them that the people looked up. It was they who guided and moulded the actions of their successors. It was in them that we recognize the illustration afforded in the philosophical language of Voltaire :—

“L'esprit d'une nation réside toujours dans le petit nombre qui fait travailler le grand, qui le nourrit et le gouverne.”

But if such were some of the social characteristics of the first settlers in Bombay and Surat two hundred years ago, many causes have, within the last few years, worked a change for the better in the daily life of society in India. With respect to the every-day life and occupation of our countrymen in India two hundred years ago, we have little written information. That there were many incidents, and some peculiarities; which lent truth to the delineations of the novelists and play writers of a past generation, will be admitted. But if the nabob and eastern millionaire were regarded as convertible terms in the time of Warren Hastings, and their portraiture gave scope to the pencil of the caricaturist, we who write of them in the present day, can find room for an apology for much that was ridiculous in their manners, or much that may have been objectionable in their morals. Dramatic writers who exercise a powerful influence on public opinion would do well, whilst portraying them, to remember the difficulties under which they were placed, and the nature of the society in which they moved. For society, in the sense in which we use the word now, did not then exist. If swearing and gambling, and a social morality, less rigid than we see it now, existed then, it was not much to be wondered at. In the early days of the Company's rule, cases often occurred in which large fortunes were amassed with marvellous rapidity, and it cannot be denied that in some cases they were spent in England in a manner which shocked the prejudices, and gave rise to the envy, of those who had known them before they had left for the East. Those who had so known them, whispered that they did not in early years remember them as possessing any great talents, and certainly not as possessing any great wealth. That those who went out poor, should come back in a few years with an unlimited supply of wealth, was ascribed in many cases to aggrandisement and to misrule in India. It was popularly said that Justice in India did not always appear with equal scales and bandaged eyes.

It was whispered that civil appointments were given away; that nepotism guided the Court of Directors in their selection; that peers sometimes pensioned off their valets with some of the best of those most coveted appointments; that the men who went out to India were precisely those who, if they had remained in England, would have made no career, and that the very best of those who earned a reputation for themselves, and had amassed wealth, had done so in violation of some of the just rights of others. It was often told, and retold, that where power in distant magistracies was irresponsible, where there was no central or

salutary check exercised by Government, and where there was no freedom of the press, and no public opinion, it was not surprising that that power should be abused. Sarcasm, sharpening with keen edge the repeated witticisms of the day, insinuated that in the hands of the eastern millionaire that which was ill-got, was ill-spent, and Plautus was quoted to add an illustration:—

“Male partum, male disperit.”

At a later period, the eloquence of Edmund Burke, and the stirring oratory of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, in that memorable trial of Warren Hastings, were employed to color still more strongly the picture of which the first nabobs were the prototypes. That in a trial which lasted seven years, under the ancient and noble arches of Westminster; a trial as momentous and dignified as any which has taken place there; which gave rise to much judicial acumen and forensic oratory of the highest kind, and which had attracted daily to the courts the wit, the learning and the fashion of the largest city in the world; at which the beauty of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and of Sarah Siddons, on the day when Hastings stood at the bar, lent a grace, brightness and elegance to the scene; much may have been said which could not be proved, and much asserted which was reckless, is not to be wondered at. At a more recent period Mr. Tom Taylor, the Lope de Vega of the English stage, has, in his portraiture of Anglo-Indians a hundred years ago, given us a sketch of Anglo-Indian society still more inaccurate, if not equally ridiculous. The plot of his play is laid at the hills. Young girls, fresh from England, are provided with husbands as summarily as if they were in the slave market. The natives appear on the stage talking in an artificial jargon. Wicked majors and colonels, fleecing young ensigns, are intended to represent the daily occupations of the military in India. Civilians with parchment skins and with only half a liver are represented as having untold wealth. Shawls and chains and gold mohurs abound in profusion. The Pagoda tree appears to be weighed down with its own weight of riches. The scenery on the stage is alone painted with a dash and a vigour worthy of the original. That some colossal fortunes were made two hundred years ago, we are not prepared to deny. But with the old type of nabob the princely fortunes acquired of old have also passed away. The pruning knife of reform has cut too deeply, and unless in trade, or by some fortunate speculation in the funds, or in shares, the money that is now amassed, except as regards the more highly paid branches of the civil service, is barely adequate for the enhanced prices and the still more enhanced rents, and for the artificial life which one has to live in India. The narrow grooves of society the want of variety in amusements, may have led to an indulgence in scandal,

and may have restricted conversation to the narrow topics of the day. It will be remembered that two hundred years ago, there were no light literature works or serials to beguile the weary hour. As there was then no press, there was no public opinion. Two centuries ago, in Bombay, there was no journalism, in the sense that there is now. Since then, even in India, we have had a press, perhaps not so independent as it ought to be, but, as a vehicle of thought, and as an exponent of public opinion, dignified and not inferior to the provincial press of England. Art has multiplied speech, and even in India so rapid has been the multiplication of our newspapers and journals, that something of that sentiment which was enunciated by Lamartine may be realized by us now. Even here, as elsewhere, men write their book, hour by hour, day by day, page by page. The winged speed of the electric wire informs us in less than two hours of what has occurred in any State in America, in any town in Europe, in any place in England. Ideas, spread with the rapidity of light.* The electric girdle of Ariel spreads from pole to pole. But two hundred years ago, the writers had to wait sometimes a year before they received even their orders from the Court of Directors in London. The names of many of those who, two hundred years ago, took an active part in the establishment of the British Empire in the East have been effaced from memory, and obliterated even on the great land marks of time—the gravestones. But that is a doom from which no statesmen are exempt, and to which our early politicians in India were peculiarly exposed. It is intellect alone which carves for itself, not upon stone or upon brass, or on the fading and treacherous memories of contemporaries, but upon the mind of all ages an imperishable and lasting name. If in our own days, even with an enlarged and a multiplied press, we are prone to forget our contemporaries in England and France, how much more might we be excused if in India we ceased to remember the names, the deeds, and the misdeeds, the gallant actions, the privations and heroism of Sir Thomas Roe, of Drake, and of Cavendish, of Newberry, and Fitch, of Lancaster, of Sir Henry Middleton, of Keeting, of Sharpey, of Saris, of Sir Gervase Lucas, and of Captain Gary, the narrative of whose exploits forms but the preface to the pages of our history of British India. Not all are so fortunate as the leaders of public thought, or the movers in great actions, who have left a name which the world will not let willingly die, or those who have died young in harness, with names carved before death, on the sands of time, while the

* Some of these sentences were by the writer at an inauguration dinner expressed in a speech lately made at Calcutta.

public were still dazzled with the splendour of their achievements. If even to men of a stamp like theirs a time must come when the press and the newspaper will record their names with lamentable rarity ; when the committees of public institutions will no longer remember that they had ever once been asked to take the chair ; when the houses of debate or of Parliament that once listened to them with marked respect, will forget not only their speeches but also their names ; when the journals of the day in which their acts were recorded, will quote them as a thing of the past ; how much more must this common lot be shared by those whose prominence has been due to the adventitious force of circumstances, or to the freaks or idle caprice of fortune. In the language of that great advocate of the Roman bar, whatever may have been their prejudices or conceits, time can only confirm the praise of that which is founded on nature and genius :—

“*Opinionem enim commenta delet dies : naturæ judicia confirmat.*”

If fortune was not kind to some of the early settlers in bestowing fame, it was generous to them in lavishing on them rapidly acquired fortunes. She could not have bestowed both. With regard to her the maxim was illustrated, that she rarely smiled on those who were absent. If it is right to say with one of the greatest wits of the day, that fortune never leaves the neighbourhood of the bank, and that her younger sister fame has seldom lived beyond the region bounded on the north by Grosvenor Square, on the east by Pall Mall, on the south by Kensington and on the west by Lancaster Gate, it is not to be expected that the favors of the one, or the smiles of the other would be lavished on men who spent the best years of their lives in acquiring wealth in a foreign country, alien in manners, in customs, in modes of thought, in manner of living ; amongst a race without a single political aspiration, without a press, without a literature, without an utterance, and without freedom of thought. Enough for them if, writing after two hundred years, the opinion of the present day should accord to them that they acted in their day, justly, wisely or bravely.

In India, more than in any other country, the once pre-eminent statesman, the once famed orator, the once celebrated writer, the once distinguished diplomatist, are condemned to be engulfed in a Lethe which never gives up its dead.

There is a regiment in the French army on whose muster roll is yet retained the designation of “*De La Tour D’Auvergne*,” and when the name of the once illustrious soldier is called on parade, the reply is still made “*Mort sur le Champ d’honneur.*” No such noble and dignified tradition governs India. With India the motto too often is :—“*Let the dead past bury its dead.*” Those

who have fought and bled in the field ; those who have spent the best years of their life, giving up their time, under a sense of public duty, to the country, are, when living, not rewarded, when dead, too often effaced. Their names are but too soon obliterated from the standards of the battles of party politics. The one cruel cry is *væ victis*. Baird was effaced long years before his death. A four line paragraph in the *Times* and in the Kentish papers announced the passing away of Lord Harris. But for their writings Malcolm, and Mounstuart Elphinstone might not now be remembered. But for the brilliant pages of Macaulay much of the heroic deeds of Olive and of Hastings would have been forgotten.

ART. VI.—THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA.

THE first act of the new Afghan drama is fitly closed by the review of the situation contained in the *Gazette of India* for the 9th August. In that despatch the Indian Government, addressing the peoples of Asia and of the civilised world through "the prescribed channel" of the Secretary of State, has given a statement of motives and conduct that will be convincing to all but the most irreconcilable of enemies. This masterly document, after showing the dangers that beset the old North-West frontier of India, proceeds to say:—

"It is, we conceive, with a view to the prevention of these that the British Government, both in India and in England, has at all times attached peculiar importance to the exclusion of foreign influence from Afghan and Biluch territory. Guided by this * * * the invariable aim of its policy has been to secure the friendship, the confidence, and in case of need, the co-operation, of the sovereigns of Cabul and Kelat."

But the measures by which this policy was executed were latterly baffled, while the Russian boundary in central Asia had come within 400 miles of the British border. "In these circumstances the Government could no longer afford to contemplate with indifference the strategic defects of its North Western frontier."

The danger of neglecting to guard the approach to India from the direction of the Caspian Sea has indeed always been evident. From the time—of which we have no record—when the Eastern Aryans, quarrelling with their Zend kinsfolk, crossed the Indus with their simple worship of the elements, and their four-fold divisions of society, the country has always been at the mercy of sturdy Lacklands from the North-West. The following principal conquests may be noticed:—

				B.C.
Invasion of Persians, about	...	...	...	518
—Alexander of Macedon	...	...	...	327
—Seleucus, about	...	...	...	300
—The Soghdian Scythians, under Wema Kadphises, about				90
				A.D.
—Mahmud of Ghazni	...	...	...	1001 to 1024
—Muhamad of Ghor	...	...	...	1191 to 1193
—Mughals under Changhez Khán	...	...	...	1219
Constant irruptions of do. from about 1280			}	1398
to the great incursion of Taimur in				
Invasions and conquest by Babar	...	...	...	1519 to 1526
Reconquered by Humaiun	...	...	...	1555
Invasion of Nádir Sháh	...	...	...	1730
Repeated invasions of Ahmad, the Abdáli	...	...	...	1747 to 1760

Being a total, including Mahmud's thirty incursions, of some fifty times that the blood of the people of India and the treasures accumulated by their chiefs have been squandered in vain resistance to their western neighbours. Only twice has India retaliated, both times under foreign rulers. These invasions and devastations have been usually the work of tribes, or monarchs, living beyond the Alpine barrier of what is now the Amirate of Cábul. But a firm grasp of some or all of the provinces now subject to that power has always preceded them. The following brief notice of the internal history of the country will, therefore, form a useful addition to our consideration of the importance of what is now called Afghanistan, to the peace of India. The first-historical appearance of the country is as a dependency of the kingdom of the Samáni rulers of Bokhára, when it formed part of the province of Khorásán. A mameluke, or military Turkish slave, separated it, and established himself at Ghazni in the tenth century after Christ, and Mahomedanism became the religion of the people. An indigenous dynasty, named from the mountainous district of Ghor, subverted and succeeded this Turkish power in 1187, and ruled for a few years, when the seat of empire was translated to Delhi; and the country came under the king of Khwárism until he, in turn, was overthrown and chased across the Indus by Changhez Khán. For more than a century and a half the country remained quiet and obscure under the suzerainty of the successor of Changhez. It was then occupied by Taimur, or Tamerlane, and continued to form part of the dominions of his family until made into an independent state, by the celebrated Bábar, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. When he conquered Hindustan, Cábul and Candahar became subject to that empire, and were occupied by an Indian garrison; Rájah Mán Sinh, of Amher, being for some time governor of Cábul, as was afterwards his son. It is noteworthy that these Rajputs conquered the country from Mohamad Hákim, a rebellious brother of the emperor, in 1579, thus anticipating the successful encounter of Hindoos with their hardy neighbours in modern times.

The province of Cábul continued to belong to the Indian Empire till the invasion of Nádir Sháh, a period of no less than 159 years. Far different was the state of the western province. Exposed to the constant cupidity of the Persians, and without a natural frontier, the city of Kandhár (or Candahár) and the tracts which it commands, were contested during almost all that period. Taken by the forces of Sháh Abbás in 1622, Candahar fell again into the hands of the Indian Government, not by force, however, but treachery, in 1637.

Ten years later it was retaken by the Persians ; and held by them (in spite of frequent sieges by the Indians) till 1708. In that year it was wrested from them by the Ghilzai insurgents, and was again taken by the Persians under Nádír Sháh in 1738. In June of that year the same invader occupied Cábul, and then proceeded to the Panjab and Dehli.

These events are the more noteworthy, as having prepared for the most important event in Afghan history, *viz.*, the formation of the modern Afghan nation under Ahmad Sháh, in 1747. Nádír was assassinated at Mashad—the capital of Khorásán—in June of that year. In October the Abdális and Ghilzais of his army set up for themselves, and crowned their leader, Ahmad the Abdáli, in Candahar ; this is therefore the date of the birth of Afghan nationality. Ahmad Sháh was one of the genuine heroes of history. A true Highlander, his was “red hand in the foray—sage counsel in cumber.” But he was more than that, for he was resolute, original, and of commanding will.

At Ahmad's death his son Taimur succeeded peacefully to what was called the Dauráni empire, the reigning branch of the tribe having the title of *Saduzai*. He died in 1793, principally remarkable for his large family—he left no fewer than 23 sons and 13 daughters. After a struggle, the fifth son Zamán Mirza established himself as Sháh by the aid of Payinda Khán, the head of the *Barukzais*, another branch of the Dauráni tribe or clan. Cábul continued to be the capital ; but of the outlying provinces, Herát—which now becomes an important factor in Afghan politics—was held by the Sháh's elder brother, Mahmud Khán, till the Sháh drove him out by force in 1798.

This is an epoch deserving of note ; for it witnessed the initiation of movements which are still felt in Indian politics. If the placing of historical dry-bones before the reader requires an apology, let it be found in the necessity of some introduction to prepare the ground and indicate the nature of the subject. It will now, one may hope, be clear to unprejudiced minds that the possessor of the lands which lie to the west of Afghanistan, holds the principal gate of India from the land side, and that it was necessary for the peace and welfare of India, no less than of Cábul itself, that they should be held by a friendly warder. Colonel Malleon, in the preface to his history of Afghanistan, thus writes :

“ A perusal of this volume will make it clear that the India of the past was really safe, really powerful, only when she had her troops cantoned beyond the passes. . . . The pages of this book show that the real contest for India has always taken place on the Helmand, * * * * but no invasion was possible so

long as Hindustan kept in her own hands the keys of her fortress, the passes leading to her fertile plains. (*Introduction, P. IX.*)"

This statement of the case, although not free from exaggeration, contains truth.

Again, Sir H. Rawlinson has recorded an opinion to which particular attention was called at the time of its publication (1875) by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a non-party paper of known ability and high principle :

"It is not sufficiently considered that, in a political struggle with Russia of this nature, we should not engage her upon at all equal terms : we have no natural claim on the affections or allegiance of the intermediate nations, no inducement to hold out to them, as affecting their own interests ; whereas Russia has only to point to India, as the traditional-plunder ground of Central Asia, as the prize which has ever rewarded the victorious hordes rushing down from the northern mountains, and she at once enlists their sympathies in her behalf * * * * * Some years hence, if Russia found herself engaged in another war with us, she might launch upon India, from her Herat base, a force of 50,000 Persian "Sirbáz," disciplined and commanded by Russian officers, and thus fully competent to cope with our best native troops ; supporting such a force with 20,000 Turcoman and Afghan horse, than which there is no better cavalry in the world ; and if she were really in earnest, detaching also a small auxiliary body of her own picked troops to give strength and consistency to the invading army." (*England and Russia 295.*)

Whether this programme would be crowned with ultimate success is a question, no doubt. But that, given the requisite provocation, Russia could, and would undertake it, requires not the authority of Rawlinson ; we can judge of its feasibility for ourselves. What has been, may be again ; and the progress of events, so far from making it more difficult, is yearly making it more easy. There is only one thing that could once more impede the project ; and that is a revival of British influence in that part of the world. The present policy of Her Majesty's Government towards Afghanistan promises well in that quarter, though the steps for carrying it out appear to have been taken at the eleventh hour, and only just in time ; but Herat remains debateable ground, while beyond it lies Persia, delivered over, these many years since, to Muscovite influence ; we need not allow ourselves to be alarmed by being reminded of the fatal results of Lord Auckland's policy, arising out of what may be represented to us as precisely similar conditions. For, in the first place, the circumstances were not precisely similar ; and, in the next, the policy was an essentially bad policy, and

executed with all the blunders that it was possible to make. The conditions, as presented to Lord Auckland, were these. Russia had hardly crossed the Jaxartes; her head-quarters, instead of being at Tashkend, were at Orenburg. She had acquired no decided preponderance in Persia. She was in no declared position of hostility towards Great Britain; and, finally, British India was divided from the Afghans by the friendly but independent states of Ranjit Singh and the Ameers of Sindh. The case was evidently much less pressing than it has since become. Again, as to policy there is an enormous difference between Lord Auckland and the present Viceroy. The former ruled almost independent of British control, for there was no telegraph, and no overland mail; it took him from six to twelve months to get a reply to despatches. He was one of that dangerous class who are called "safe men," a plodding deskman, without any great personal or other distinction or political experience; just the man to adopt a policy from irresponsible advisers, and carry it out with blundering obstinacy. And this is exactly what he did.

The first effort of Anglo-Indian diplomacy had been in 1798, a year after Zaman Sháh had obtained possession of Herat. Flushed with success, and with the confidence inspired by a consolidated empire, Zaman Sháh set out to conquer Hindustan. Lord Wellesley, on assuming office, found the minds of the natives excited; he at once increased the native army and opened negotiations with the Persian court (through an émigré of that nation) which were immediately followed by the despatch of a Persian force to Herat. This expedition was ostensibly in the interests of Mahmud, the Sháh's brother, by whom it was accompanied; and, so far as those interests were concerned, it turned out a failure. Next year the Persian monarch renewed the attempt in person; and the result of these expeditions, however fruitless otherwise, was to save India from all further danger from Zaman Sháh. He retired from Lahore for the last time in 1800. Next year indeed he got as far as Pesháwur, but was recalled by the news that his brother Mahmud had taken Candahár, and that the Barukzai chiefs were organising a revolution. On his way to Cábul he was met by further bad news. He then marched towards Ghazni at the head of 30,000 men, to meet his rebellious brother. On the way half of his army deserted, on which he attempted to withdraw and conceal himself. But a traitor delivered him to his enemies, by whom he was deprived of his sight, and, no longer a cause of political disquiet, was permitted to leave the country. He was first succeeded by Mahmud; and, on the fall of the latter, a third brother ascended the crazy throne under the title of "Shuja-ul-Mulk." This event took place in

July 1803. The new king's brother Kámrán, however, retained possession of Herat.

Sháh Shujāi (the "Soojah" of British historians) was the last and most ill-starred, of the Saduzai dynasty. Expelled by the Barukzais he took refuge with Ranjit Singh the celebrated ruler of Lahore, and ultimately accepted the protection of the British, settling at Ludhiána in 1816.

After a variety of further revolutions, supreme power fell to the younger of the sons of Payinda, the Barukzai chief—Dost Mahamad Khán. He did not, however, attempt to revive the title or sway of the Dauráni kings, but contented himself with the modest style of "Amir of Cábul," still borne by his grandson, our new ally. The investiture took place in a solemn assembly early in the year 1835. Herat continued to be held by the Saduzai Kámrán.

The Dost's besetting dream was the recovery of Pesháwur, which had been torn from his predecessors in 1823, and of which the Sikhs, in whose interest it had since been held, took actual possession in 1834. To regain this *damnosa hereditas* he was ready to make friends with any Power, and while his brother at Candahar was invoking the aid of Persia and of Russia, the Dost was making warm court to Lord Auckland with this object in view.

The consequences at first were these. In 1837 a Persian army was ordered to march on the Saduzai principality of Herat; a Russian envoy was deputed to Candahar; and Alexander Burnes appeared at Cábul, charged with "a Commercial mission." The results are well known. The siege of Herat, though in part directed by Russian officers, was frustrated by the energy of Eldred Pottinger, and the opportune appearance of a British squadron in the Gulf. Burnes departed, baffled, from Cábul, because he could not promise the restoration of Pesháwur. Poor young Vikowitch obtained a short-lived triumph, and an irresistible panic took possession of British statesmen both in India and in England.

Let it be here stated once for all that it is unwise to echo, without reflection or qualification, the cuckoo-cry against the qualifications or opinions of those statesmen. The danger was for a moment real and great. The Persian King openly announced to the Sháh of Herat that his expedition was directed against Hindustan, and that all that was needed of him was that he should join it (V. Kaye I. 250). A Russian force under General Samson formed part of the Persian army. Vikowitch had been received with honor at Cábul. Ranjit Singh would not give up Pesháwur, and Lord Auckland could not afford to compel the surrender. There was still subsisting a treaty of alliance between

the British and the Saduzais, to which dynasty Kámrán, the Sháh of Herat, belonged. Lastly, it must be remembered that Count Simonich, the Russian ambassador at the Persian court, was notoriously stimulating it in all its hostile proceedings.

Under these circumstances, what ought the British Government to have done?

Judging from after events, a good deal of what they did at first was quite prudent. They put pressure upon Persia and Russia with perfect success. The Persian king and his army withdrew from Herat, expressly at the instance of the British ambassador on the 9th September 1838. The Russian Government disavowed the proceedings of its agents. The British Envoy intercepted a letter from the Russian minister to the Candahar sirdars, counselling hostility both against the Dost and against the British, and, in forwarding it, he took the opportunity of recommending that the Indian Government should espouse the Dost's cause. Burnes made the same recommendation. Sir C. Wade (the most experienced of the frontier officers) gave his advice that the Saduzai Kámrán—who had so successfully opposed the Russo-Persian advance—should be maintained at Herat. Here was a definite, strong, policy, founded on existing facts. Unhappily, the tripartite treaty had, in the meanwhile, been executed (29th June 1838.) By this unblest instrument, forced upon Ranjit against his will, the rule which the Dost was already consolidating in Cábul was upset; the luckless Shujäa was forced upon a high-spirited people who had cast him forth; Herat was left as a bait to unscrupulous neighbours; and the seeds were sown of responsibilities, losses and disgraces, which to this day are not completely retrieved.

The ink of the "Simla manifesto" was hardly dry before the Government of India became aware that the clouds in their North-Western horizon had disappeared; and that, in the words of Colonel Malleson, the political situation in Asia was "more favorable to England than it had been at the time of Burnes's mission." The Russo-Persian bubble had, indeed, burst; the weakness of Persia had been revealed by the discovery of her vulnerable place on the shores of the gulf; and all that was now required was to let things alone. The ambition of three Bengal civilians alone destroyed all the advantages of the situation.

The apportionment of the blame between Lord Auckland's advisers cannot now be distinctly made. Henry Torrens, while the invasion of the Cábul Amirate promised to succeed, is said to have been in the habit of saying that "it was all *his* thunder;" but, after its disastrous termination, to have only sighed, "Poor John Colvin!" It is, however, most unlikely that these two

young and subordinate officers could, alone, have determined the action of the Government against the advice of Burnes, and the sturdy protests of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane; while the recorded opinions of their chief, Mr., afterwards Sir William, Macnaghten, seem to show that, in truth, the war was mainly initiated by him.

What was the opinion of Burnes is not doubtful. After the failure of the grand scheme great pains were taken to suppress his letters, or so garble them as to make them speak in a sense contrary to what the writer intended. (Kaye I. 195-9.) But Kaye has preserved enough; indeed the following extract alone might be thought sufficient. On the 2nd June 1838 he thus wrote to Macnaghten: * "It remains to be considered why we cannot act with Dost Mohamad. He is a man of undoubted ability, and has at heart a high opinion of the British nation. And, if half [of] what you must do for others were done for him * * * he would abandon Russia and Persia to-morrow." This opinion was recorded by one who knew the Dost well, before the siege of Herat had been raised, or the tripartite treaty concluded; but when the writer had but too much reason to fear that the mischief was already done, and that his remonstrances would have no effect but to injure his own position and prospects. Yet even then it was *not* too late. Indications had appeared of an amicable adjustment† of the Peshawur question, the great present difficulty, and a delay of three months would have shown that this supposed future danger had disappeared. *Sed dis aliter visum.*

By the best authorities at home the Auckland-Macnaghten scheme was at once condemned. It was condemned by the Duke of Wellington; by his brother Lord Wellesley; by Mountstuart Elphinstone; by Sir C. Metcalfe; by Mr. St. George Tucker, and by the collective Court of Directors. But it was approved by Sir John Cam Hobhouse, and it went forth upon its ill-starred course.

It is not needful here to enter into any of the details; suffice it to say that the war was characterized by three capital errors, each of itself sufficient to ensure failure.

1. The initial blunder, politically and morally, was in the attempt to force upon the Afghans a ruler who was not strong enough to maintain himself.

2. The second was committed in remaining to support him after he had once been placed upon the *masnad*. This error may be thought to have followed from the first; if so, it only seems to

* Kaye I. 354.

† Kaye I. 357, (and 184) v. also Durand's *Afghan War*.

enhance the first by showing that it was not only wrong of itself, but pregnant with an evil offspring.

3. When the British expedition had been re-established under Pollock, it was a third mistake to withdraw it with such precipitation.

Calmer times succeeded. With the exception of one fugitive snatch at his will-o-the-wisp in 1849, the restored Dost Mohamad remained faithful to the British alliance to the day of his death. The usual complications followed that event, and the British Government availed itself of the opportunity of making a few more false moves in this difficult and distressing game.

1. The first* was the evading of Sher Ali's prayers at Ambála in 1869. The visit paid by the Amir to the Viceroy of India on that occasion has been justly recognised as having offered an opening of the most favorable nature. "Had our appreciation of the gravity of the crisis," says Rawlinson, "been as matured as it is at present, the epoch might have been decisive." It was lost, not by Lord Mayo, but by the fears and weakness of the home Government.

2. Again in 1873, the unworthy timidity of the British Cabinet shrank from accepting the declaration of Sher Ali that he was exposed to dangers from Russia which he proposed to share with the Government of India. It was pretended that the danger did not exist,† and the unhappy Ameer was informed that "as the subject was one of great importance, we" [the British] "considered it advisable to postpone the settlement of it to a more favorable opportunity." It is Rawlinson's expressed opinion that from that moment dates the interchange of friendly communication between Tashkend and Cábul which culminated in the reception of a Russian mission at the court of the Ameer, and all the events that followed.

Recent events have brought back the remaining books of the Sybil—what she offered, only to be missed in 1868, and thrown away in 1873, has been in part, at least, restored by the fortune which has so long befriended Britain. Let us briefly consider what remains to be done, that the favor shown may be utilized and preserved, not forfeited for ever. By the treaty of Gandamak the Indian Government has obtained—so far, at least as the central parts of Afghanistan are concerned—all the position that was vainly offered to her in 1838, in 1842, in 1869 and in 1873. She has obtained a friendly custodian for her North-West barbican, the outwork that protects her landward entrance. Does she require more? That is the question.

* Lord Lawrence's recognition of *de facto* rulers cannot fairly be included in this list. † See telegram in *Mallison* ; 4434.

In Mr. Fisher's recent work on Afghanistan (Chap. IX.) will be found a neat summary of the progress of Russia towards our North-West frontier, paved with broken pledges. As it is evident from his preface and introduction that this writer is not an admirer of the present cabinet, his facts and views on this subject may be taken as an impartial abstract of the past history of Russian dealings. With regard to the future he abstains from saying much; but in the collected writings of Sir H. Rawlinson may be found some very plain words. It is therefore time to remind the reader that Rawlinson is, in the first place, our best living geographer: in the next, one of the few survivors from the war of 1838: and lastly, one who has not only traversed the country through which the North-West of India is approached, but one who has actually administered it, and studied its resources from a practical point of view. His knowledge and wisdom have been acknowledged not only by the Conservatives, but by such organs of the Opposition as the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Spectator*, and the *Friend of India*. It is therefore abundantly plain that he is an authority entitled to respect and deference.

Now, it is Rawlinson's profound conviction that Russia has both the will and the means to send a strong expedition by way of Herat towards India; that the country is both rich and easy; and that her appearance on the road to Merv should be the signal for a British occupation of Herat.

In discussing this question, then, we must bear in mind: 1 The nature of the country as testified by this high authority; and, 2. its situation, not only geographically, but in relation to Afghan politics. Of the first point full illustrations are to be found in Rawlinson's writings, especially in *England and Russia in the East*; and, since that book is easily accessible, it is not worth while to recapitulate the details there given. Between Merv and the Helmand there are no important obstacles, unless they are to be found in the walls of Herat.

As to the second point, the position of Herat in regard to the power that may be supreme at Cábul, a few facts may be noted. They are, it is true, chiefly gathered from the work just cited; but it may be of service to bring them into a focus together with one or two others not noticed by our author.

Herat formed a part of the Dauráni empire, formed by Ahmad Khán; but it did not go with Cábul at the time when that empire broke up. On the contrary, it was kept by a prince of the Saduzai dynasty, and when, nearly a century later, Dost Mohamad became Amir of Cábul, he made no real effort to re-annex Herat. In fact he did not recover it till 1863. We must imagine him thinking of this province as Edward III may have thought of the

Duchy of Normandy, as a rich and desirable possession, and in some sort the cradle of his house ; yet one which had been detached from his empire, and one difficult to be long defended against powerful neighbours. Moreover the population, just as in the case here supposed, was alien from the natural subjects of the main kingdom. Herat is not inhabited by Afghans, but by tribes of Persian and Turkish origin, some of them Shiahs, and all animated by feelings of contempt and hatred towards the Patháns of Cábul. Rawlinson, (p. 370) shows cause for believing that the connection with Herat will always be an element of disorganisation to Afghanistan. Further on (379-s.s.) the author gives equally good reasons for believing that this country should always be in hands friendly to British power. Elsewhere (192-s.s.) he urges that Britain might even neglect Cábul altogether, so long as she maintains her influence on the westward. It may be long, he thinks, before the power of Russia will be sufficiently consolidated in Usbeg Turkestan to enable her to do more than make demonstrations. But to minimise the evil of those demonstrations, and at the same time for the protection of British commerce, he thinks that a strong, a valid, position must be taken by Britain in face of the gradual increase of Russian strength across the Persian border. Above all things Russia must be kept from the Indus.

Now, looking at two salient facts of past history, it becomes a question for almost immediate solution, "What is to be done with Herat?" The papers regarding British negotiations during the last few years leave no doubt as to Russia's intentions in regard to Merv, and the apprehensions of danger, not only to Afghanistan but to India, which they excite in Afghan minds. * Now, it is one fact that, whenever she has been left to herself, Persia has latterly found increasing difficulty in taking possession of the city and province of Herat ; it is another that Britain has always been able to bring her to her knees by a blow delivered from the shores of the Persian Gulf.

The question therefore, of Herat assumes this form : Would it be feasible and wise for Britain to restore her influence at Teheran and make over Herat to that court, to be held in the interests of Britain ?

In weighing this question it is to be further borne in mind that however needful Herat may be to the protection of British interests in India, it is a very long way, even from her advanced posts. Assuming the treaty of Gaudamak to be carried out in

* See specially the telegrams be- Duke of Argyll, ignored (probably tween Lord Northbrook and the not known of) by Mr. Fisher.

its integrity, the British will have no cantonment beyond the defiles of the Kojak. Candahar may possibly be retained by the Amir without British help; Herat, without British assistance he cannot hold—so far as the future may be predicted from the past. The Government of India has wisely abstained from including in the late treaty any provision for protecting the Amir of Cábul against domestic foes. But, supposing Herat to be seized by Persia, that Government is bound, by the 3rd article, to send her troops to the Amir's aid. Is it wise to undertake such an expensive operation, at such a distance from one's own country?

The solution of these doubts belongs to the British nation. That nation, could it be assured through its responsible agents on one or two points, might arrive at a wise decision.

1. Can the Amir be persuaded that it is to his interest to cede Herat to Persia for sufficient compensation?

2. Can such compensation be found in a rectification of the boundary-line to the South-West? Rawlinson (117) has shown that, in spite of General Goldsmid's arbitration, this is still an unsettled condition. Seistán is peopled by Beluch tribes with Afghan affinities, who have no wish to become Persian subjects; and there is reason for believing that the Afghans themselves are far from being satisfied with the recent demarcation.

It appears, then, conceivable, that an arrangement might be effected on this basis; *viz.*, that Persia might be persuaded to make some concession on the Seistán frontier, in return for which she would receive the Herat district down, say, to Farrah, but not so far as to Girishk. Cábul, or British India—need anticipate no difficulty in defending the Helmand, † and that river seems really to be the best frontier line they could have. Aided by an Afghan garrison in Candahar, and by her own forces in the Pishin Valley, India would not, in all probability, have an intruder to repel; and, if she ever had, could be in the very best position for repelling him.

The province of Candahar is one easier to be governed from Cábul; though the brief summary at the beginning of this article shows that even this region is by no means necessarily a part of Cábul's permanent dominion. Between 1579 and 1708 it was held by Persia no less than 76 years in all, and was again taken by her 30 years later. This, therefore, is also a point to be carefully watched and guarded; but it differs from Herat, in being of Afghan affinities and very much less remote from the present British border.

† Rawlinson held Girishk all 100 Hindustani matchlock-men, through the first Afghan war with

On the other hand, there is much to be said in favour of maintaining a strong and united Afganistan rather than one that should be weak and divided. It may be urged that, though we can always deliver a deadly blow at Persia from the south, we cannot protect her from being invaded from the north; and that Russia can always put such tremendous pressure on her, by the direction towards her vitals of the first-class army maintained in the Caucasus, that Persia can never be a safe custodian of Hérat.

And these views will probably prevail. A united Afghanistan, under a friendly and popular native ruler, will form the best bulwark for British India. If Persia were to attack Herat single-handed, such an Afghanistan could probably hold its own. The attempt of Russia to back up such an attack need not be anticipated. If made it would be one of those insults and intentional menaces which a nation cannot suffer without permanent loss of honour and strength; and a British contingent would, however reluctantly, be sent to aid the Afghans in pursuance of the 3rd article of the treaty of Gundamak. Such a movement would be powerfully supported by a naval expedition to the Persian Gulf and a march of land troops and marines in the direction of Shiráz and Ispahán.

It is, as a rule, highly unbecoming for uninformed outsiders to offer advice to the experts who receive and classify the fluctuating facts of foreign politics. But journalists who remember the alarms and the shame which saddened India during the years of inactivity called "masterly," may be perhaps permitted to give expression to what they believe to be one firm conviction of the best and most instructed opinion. It is this—The rulers of British India have nothing to gain by reserve. They have very powerful inducement to an outspoken avowal of capabilities and intentions. The people of India, nay the people of Afghanistan, would infinitely prefer an English alliance to the proffered friendship of Russia. But England must be frank and bold; must say what it is that she intends to do; must show that she has the means to do it and is prepared to use those means. She may also without the slightest discourtesy, let her overgrown and semi-barbarous neighbour know that she understands her power and her weakness, what she intends and what she only pretends.

If Russia knows that the Cabinet and people of England have made up their minds that the North-West frontier of their Indian Empire shall be respected; that defence, without defiance, may yet take an aggressive character; that Russia is known to be in that position of alienation from her new subjects which it pleases her to

attribute to the British in India ; and that the people of Afghanistan and India are not going to make common cause with people who threaten them with fire and sword ; she may see the wisdom of desisting from her present disturbing proceedings. In any event the Government of India is prepared, and the Government of Britain had better say so openly, rather than imitate its predecessors by standing with its head in a bush. The present state of things is perplexing native opinion, not with hope but with alarm. It was well said by Charles II, to his brother ; " Never fear, James ; they will not kill me to make thee King ; " and all menace from without, directed against the rulers of India, however uneasy it may make men's minds, will assuredly not weaken the hold over the inhabitants enjoyed by their protectors. Only let them be openly and distinctly informed that their protection is strong and ready, and not a man of their assailants will cross the Helmand, except as a prisoner. The assurance will suffice.

The opinion of Sir H. Rawlinson is in favour " of detaching Herat and Candahar from Cábul, and of confining our attention to the western States which are alone of importance to us, providing for the security of our Indian frontier from attack " (192, *Note*.) This note was dated in 1874 ; but the reasons which warrant the opinion are of less weight now. It was said hastily by Sir J. Kaye that there was " no public in India," and the epigram has taken root in thoughtless minds. But there is a public, or rather there are several publics, in India ; and the Russian advance is regarded with alarm by the many, who are interested in order, and with sympathy by the few, who are restless and malicious though their malice is impotent. " The conquests of the Russians on the Jaxartes " (as Rawlinson truly observes,) " have come to exercise a disturbing influence over the native mind in the north of India." And, a little further on ; " What England has to apprehend from the progress of affairs in Central Asia is, not the immediate or even the proximate invasion of our Indian Empire, which is a notion peculiar to the panic-mongers. . . . What we really have to apprehend is that an Asiatic Russia will arise to the north of the Hindu Kush, possessing within itself a vitality and vigour that will * * * render it, in due course of time, a formidable rival to our Indian Empire." Let the counterpoise be formed in time.

ART. VII.—ARABIC.

(A portion of the Third Series of the Wilson Philological Lectures delivered in the Lecture-room of the University Library of Bombay in January and February 1879.) By E. Rehatsek.

ARABIC, Aramaic—i.e., Chaldaic and Syriac—Ethiopic, Hebrew and Phœnician are the chief branches of one primitive Semitic language, originally consisting of monosyllabic or bisyllabic roots, from the consonants of which the principal meaning depended. These monosyllabic roots consisted of two consonants, as no independent signification could be attached to one; but afterwards they became bisyllabic by the addition of another consonant, because a multitude of roots consisting of only one syllable produced not only cacophony, but also monotony, which was removed by the addition of a letter, so that an alternation of long and short syllables was brought about to satisfy a natural craving for euphony. Arabic grammarians have also assumed that the union of two or three consonants contains a definite meaning upon which all the derivative ones depend. The consonants were indeed uttered with the vowels, but in such a manner that the latter constituted no separate parts, but were considered as consonants and parts of them. In the first stage of the language when only general expressions came into use, probably the roots alone were known, and afterwards the general significations modified; at last persons, genders, numbers, as well as tenses, were specially expressed.

It may be considered as an established principle that, when it became necessary to modify the signification of a root, it was done by altering the vowels.

Vowel sounds. In the oldest period of the Semitic family of languages the pronunciation of the vowels was simple and limited only to the three fundamental sounds *a, i, o*, but differently modified in pronunciation, as is still the case in Arabic, the only one of the above mentioned idioms which has survived as a living language. When the necessity of expressing vowel sounds in writing made itself felt, before the invention of the vowel-signs, three consonants, resembling by their softness the three fundamental vowels, were used to express them. Therefore these three consonants *alf, ya* and *waw* (ا, ي, و) play also in Arabic an important part in the development of the radical form. When it became necessary to corroborate the fundamental form, it was done by doubling the

second or third radical letter, just as, by the repetition of the same word, the meaning obtains its most natural corroboration. But if the fundamental idea of the radical form was to be increased, it was done by an addition to it. These additions—most of which must have had a meaning, which cannot at present always be securely explained on account of their abridgement and change—are partly prefixed, or applied, to, or inserted in, the word and become intimately connected therewith.

The word *Arab* is very ancient and undoubtedly of Semitic origin. It was originally neither the name of a certain tribe of men which had inherited it from its ancestor, nor the name of a certain tract of country, but the name of any kind of parched land.

This word was, in the Hebrew language, an adjective, which first designated the condition of a barren soil, whereon fodder grows scantily. The feminine *A'rabah* ערבה was with the omission of the word *eretz* ארץ earth (Conf. Jer. II, 6) used to denote every such region. Thus in Isaia XXXIII, 9, such a tract is put in opposition to fat pastures, because it is said that the district *Hashsharon* השרון distinguished by fertility, would be like an *A'rabah* ערבה and in Jer. L, 12, this word stands in connection with dry desert, and in LI, 43, it is translated "dry barren land." At present this root does not embrace the idea of barrenness in Arabic, but has with this meaning survived in Ethiopic, according to Ludolf.

The word *A'rab* appears then to have been transferred to large regions, the general character of which corresponded to the signification just mentioned, although small portions differed from it. Thus we have in Isaia XXI, 13, "In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, ye caravans of the Dedamites." We might, with changed vowels, render the word בערב by "in the evening" as the old translators have done, but the mention of the Dedamites, the punctuation, as well as the other word *A'rab*, all show that Arabia was meant.* At last this name was applied to the immense country known as the peninsular of Arabia.

The period from Ismael to Muhammad is obscure not only from a historical, but also from a linguistic point of view, because

* This word occurs also in Ezech. XXVII, 21; Jer. XXV, 24; Nehem. II, 19; Isaia, XLIII, 20; II Chron. XVII, 11; which it is unnecessary to discuss particularly; it generally designates a nation in these passages.

we know nothing about the development of the Arabic language

Extraordinary wealth
of words and syno-
nyms in Arabic

till the sixth century of our era; and in the seventh we meet all of a sudden with the admirable cycle of the seven suspended poems, and the songs, many of pre-Islamitic origin, which were collected during the tenth in the Kitáb-allaghání or book of songs. Accordingly it is certain that the language had attained that development which distinguishes it above all the other Semitic idioms, long before the time of Muḥammad; and as in the Qorán promulgated by him, as well as in the poems just-mentioned the same degree of grammatical development prevails as among the later Arabs; they have made no progress, and the actual period of it was of no long duration, because it embraced scarcely more than a century before, and perhaps as much after the time of Muḥammad. In wealth of words Arabic excels the other Semitic languages, and must also, with reference to other tongues, be considered as one of the richest, especially as to its synonyms to designate the camel, the desert, the lion, the sword, &c. Domairi assures us that Ebn Khalujah described 500 names of the lion, to which Ebn Kasim B. Ja'fer added 130 more; and the grammarian, Abu Saḥl Muḥammad B. A'li (died at Herat A. H. 433), collected 600 names in one volume. Not only did the Arabs, even in a low state of civilisation, apply many synonyms to one and the same object, but they invented other names for it when it was in another state, to designate which we employ several words, whilst only one suffices them. Milk is a substance which has also an extraordinary number of synonyms in its various forms and stages, a number of which Freytag had taken the trouble to collect in his "Einleitung zur Arabischen Sprache;" and in Richardson's Arabic dictionary sixty-seven different meanings are assigned to the word *a'juz* زجر. And if the question presents itself how it comes that the Arabs have so many names for one thing, and so many significations for one word, it is not difficult to answer. In ancient times, as now, the Arabs dwelt not only in the whole of their own peninsula, but also in Mesopotamia, Syria, and

Conditions of the
development of Arabic.

Egypt, along the shores of the Red Sea, partly as settled, and partly as nomadic, tribes, so that the precise limits to which their habitations extended have never been strictly defined. Some lived in deserts; some in fertile localities; some in plains; some in mountainous regions; some near the sea; some far from it; some in villages, towns and forts, whilst others had no fixed habitations but wandered with their flocks over large districts

and dwelt in tents. As the conditions of climate, the manner of living, occupations &c., influence the development of all languages, they effected changes in Arabic also. In various tribes living separately, different expressions soon obtained currency, and poets contributed not a little to the development of the language. Already, a considerable time before the birth of Muhammad and the promulgation of Islām, many Arab tribes possessed distinguished bards, whose poems were recited in social assemblies and fairs, the most remarkable of these compositions, dealing with war and love, being handed down to posterity by oral tradition from generation to generation. Such were the principal causes of the wealth of expression in the Arabic language, which afforded also by its nature great facilities for new formations. One inconvenience resulted, however, from this extraordinary abundance of synonyms; the Arabic grammarians and lexicographers who gradually sprung up in towns and consigned them to writing in various provinces, had not lived among Bedouins, had no practical knowledge of their life, and are therefore at variance about the precise meanings of numerous words. According to Burckhardt,* who travelled much among the Bedouins, their dialects are everywhere different from the Arabic spoken in towns and villages, even if they happen to live near them. They use a dialect much purer, and in its construction much more correct and grammatical than the lower

Burckhardt's remarks on the Bedouin dialects.

language of the Syrian and Egyptian mob, which is wholly excluded from the encampments of the desert. There is, however, among the Bedouins themselves a great variety of dialects; and the language spoken by a Nejd Bedouin is as different from that of a Sinai as the dialect of the latter is from that of an Egyptian Bedouin. But they all agree in pronouncing each letter with much precision, expressing its exact force or power, which with respect to the letters *t*, *dh*, *z*, and *ẓ* (ظ ض ذ ث) is never the case among the inhabitants of towns. The Bedouins also agree universally in using, as common, many select words, which in the towns would be called literary (كلام نادر), and in speaking always with grammatical accuracy. They likewise refuse to admit into their colloquial speech many of those cant phrases and terms by which the Arabic of Syria and Egypt is so materially corrupted. According to Burckhardt by far the best Arabic is spoken in the desert, where the Bedouins have preserved its purity during so many

* Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 211; London 1830.

centuries, without books or writings. They learn poetry by heart and recite it, so that young persons are thus accustomed to the use of select and elegant expressions, there being always in the camps some old men who take delight in explaining recondite meanings and other difficulties to youngsters.

Niebuhr* believes that the language spoken in the mountains which bound Yemen and Hejáz, where the inhabitants have scarcely any intercourse with strangers, approaches nearest to that of the Qorán.

Palgrave, who travelled in 1862-3, specially points out Jebel Shomer, with the whole of upper and central Nejd, as districts where pure Arabic is spoken, because there, says he, the smallest

and raggedest child that toddles about the street, lisps in the correctest book Arabic—to

use an inexact denomination—that ever De Sacy studied or Sibawayh professed.† This traveller found however, an archaic, and so to say, primeval form of speech (for specimens of which he refers us to the portion of the oldest proverbs in Maidani's collection, as published by Freytag) among the Al-Morrah Bedouins, who roam about in the great desert which separates Nejd from Ḥaḍramaut. He reports that he never saw more savage-looking beings than these nomads; their hair was elf-locks; their dress, rags; their complexion, grime; their look wildness personified; but in speech they proved themselves men of eloquence. According to him Arabic is at the present day spoken precisely as it was in the age of Muhammad, or even earlier, in Jebel Shomer, Kaseem, Sedejr, Woshem and the northern half of A'rad; but southward of these limits another and different, namely, the Kaḥṭanic‡ dialect begins to prevail, which, by regular gradations, gains on the more classic or Ismaelitic dialect of the centre, till it wholly supplants it in O'man, where we find a modification of the Arabic language represented by the pre-Islamitic poems of the south, and which now is, and probably always was, the speech of the Yemenitic Arab branch, though at present banished from the Yemen, or at least its coast. In Nejd, the

* Description de l'Arabie p. 74.

† Central and Eastern Arabia, vol. I. p. 311.

‡ Kahtan—in the Bible Yektan—nobility was enhanced not only by was the son of Ya'rob, the ancestor having given to the Arabs their of the Arabs of Yemen who first prophet, but also their language. spoke Arabic, but Ismael is said Although Palgrave uses the distinction to have been the first who spoke the Kahtanic and Ismaelitic, he does so in the same sense as languages have the Koreish dialect. This assertion been classed according to the names appears, however, to be based on of the three sons of Noah, namely the ambition of the tribe to which Muhammad belonged, so that its in a conventional way merely.

geographical centre of Arabia, and more strictly in Riád, the boundary of Ismaelitic and the Kahtanic dialect, where they intermix, must be drawn, and south of which, as we have just pointed out, the former gradually disappears. The Kahtanic race furnishes moreover the link between the white and the black races of Arabs arising from a mixture with negroes ; because it admits, more readily, Africans to fellowship, intermarriage and civil rights. This was remarked by Niebuhr in southern Arabia during the second half of the past century ; but Palgrave found some officials of high position in the Waháby government who were almost pure negroes. Captain Palgrave points out that Syria, Egypt, Baghdad, even more, Mosul and Algiers are not Arabia, nor are their inhabitants Arabs, although Europeans call them such. The populations alluded to are a mixture of Kurds, Turks, Koyats, Albanians, Chaldeans, not to mention remnants of other and older races with a little Arab blood in them. That all more or less speak Arabic, gives them no more claim to be numbered among Arabs, than speaking bad English makes an Englishman of a native of Connaught or Texas. In short, among these races, town or Bedouin, we have no real, authentic Arabs. Arabs and Arabia begin south of Syria and Palestine, west of Boçrah and Zobeyr, east of Karak and the Red Sea. Draw a line across from the top of the Red Sea to the top of the Persian Gulf ; what is below that line is alone Arab ; and even then do not reckon the pilgrim-route, it is half Turkish ; nor Medinah, it is cosmopolitan ; nor the east coast of Yemen, it is Indo-Abyssinian ; least of all Mekkah, the common sewer of Muhammadans of all kinds, nations and lands, and where every trace of Arab identity has long since been effaced by promiscuous immorality and the corruption of ages. Maskat and Kaţif must also stand with Mokha and Aden on the list of exceptions.*

Considering the small number of only eighteen letters in the Kufic alphabet, which the Arabs adopted about the time of Muhammad, it might be supposed that the language did not contain a great variety of sounds, as that alphabet was found sufficient to express all those really existing in the language. Such an opinion would be wrong, as the Qorán, which was promulgated at the time, and has come down unchanged to ours, contains already all the sounds afterwards fixed when later grammarians increased the letters of the alphabet and changed it without adding any sounds, as there can scarcely be any doubt that in the time of Muhammad the language already possessed

The Kufic alphabet does not imply poverty of sounds.

language did not contain a great variety of sounds, as that alphabet was found sufficient to express all those really existing in the

the twenty-eight different letters constituting the alphabet of later times. The augmentation of the consonants from 18 to 28 took place merely by placing points on certain letters—as none were used in the Kufic alphabet—to avoid confusion between ع and غ or between ح, خ, ج &c. As the Arabs probably found no alphabet more suitable for their language than the Syriac, they adopted the modification of it known as the Kufic alphabet, especially as they were unwilling to accept the Hebrew letters from the Jews, although many of them lived in their midst.

In Arabic, as well as in several other Semitic languages, the verb undergoes considerable modifications of sense, merely by

changing its vocalisation, by affixing, inserting, or prefixing a letter. We shall now see how a triliteral root can be changed in various

manners. Thus we have one transitive فعل fa'ala and two in-

transitives فعل fai'la and فعل fau'la, as well as one passive form

فعل fui'la, merely by altering the vocalisation and leaving the consonants untouched for the preterit. But in the future we have only one intransitive form فعل fai'la distinguished from the transitive فعل faa'la; the difference between them consisting only in one vowel which is for the intransitive form a, namely فعل yafa'lu and for the intransitive u, namely فعل yafu'lu. From the fundamental form fourteen more are derived by the duplication of the second or third radical, by the addition or insertion of a letter, and these forms receive the names of so many conjugations.

There are only two forms of tenses, the finished (perfect) and the unfinished, (future and present). In the former the personal pronoun is affixed to indicate that the act has preceded, and in the latter prefixed, to indicate that the act is to follow. Thus in the perfect we say كتبت katabtu "writ-

ten thou hast" and in the future كتبت taktubu "thou wilt write." The dual has naturally only two persons, namely the second and third, but of the second only the masculine is used. The preterite has only one form, but the future five. Among Europeans first Erpenius, and after him De Saey, illustrated all these forms so well, that later grammarians have generally adopted the names by which they used to designate them.

The noun substantive as well as adjective has a multitude of

forms, which Arab grammarians have generally divided into original and derived ones. Some nouns consisting only of radicals are distinguished from each other by a different vocalisation,

whilst others are formed by the insertion of the letters α , w , y —ا, و, ي among the radicals, and again others by prefixing or appending the letters α , t , s , m , n , t , y —ا, ت, س, م, ن, ي and lastly, others again by the duplication of the second radical letter. The different ways of formation mostly impart to a word a different meaning, whereby the expression is clearly defined. Among these we shall only observe that a noun may be turned into a diminutive by simply inserting the letter y —ي between the second and third radical, and changing the vocalisation; and that the affixing of the letter t —ت constitutes a noun of unity. There are, however, above forty derivative forms of nouns more or less used.

The noun is either masculine or feminine; but the former has no particular termination, and the \tilde{s} , ل or ي which characterises the latter is also omitted, because unnecessary, when the nature of the word itself implies the feminine gender, *e. g.*, *hâmel* حامل pregnant, *khâṣ* خاص &c., where the word woman is expressed or understood. The common plural termination for masculine nouns is *ûn*—ون, and for feminines *ât*—ات; the dual termination is *ân*—ان which is in the masculine appended to the last letter of the word, and in the feminine to the feminine termination of the singular. The dual is undoubtedly only a modification of the plural, and is therefore not very different from it. In adjectives the dual is not used, because they do not allow of the idea of duality unless they be considered as substantives.

Originally the cases were extremely simple, the accusative being in the masculine singular expressed merely by affixing the letter α —ا whilst the same was in the plural designated by the termination *yn*—ين because the vowel signs had not yet been invented. There is, however, no doubt that already, before the time of Muhammad, the three case-terminations existed which were afterwards indicated in writing by vowels; they occur already in the Qorân and even in pre-Islamitic poems; they were also used in the colloquial language and are as follows:—

The nominative ends in *on* or with the omission of α in *o*
 „ Genitive ends in *in* or with the omission of α „ *i*
 „ Accusative ends in *an* or with the omission of α „ *a*
 In the plural the nominative ends in *una* or with the omission of α in α
 In the plural the Gen. and Acc. end in *ina* or with the omission of α „ *i*

The omission of the n , which is a nasal, analogous to the Anuswar in Sânskrit, takes place when the word is connected with a noun following. Some nouns have, in the singular, only two ter-

minations, namely *s* for the nominative and *a* for the genitive and accusative, whilst others remain quite unchanged. There are, however, more than 30 forms of various kinds, which look partly like singulars and partly like plurals, but are in dictionaries considered to belong to the former class.

It has already been observed above, that when Arabic became known in the sixth century of our era, it was already in possession of all its perfection, flexibility and wealth of words. It was in fact so complete that down to our times it had undergone no important modification.

Distinct individuality of Arabic. As this language contains special processes entirely peculiar to it, so that not even their germs can be discovered in the other Semitic tongues;—*e. g.*, a series of verbal forms of which no trace occurs in Hebrew or in Aramaic, the remarkable broken plurals some of which occur only in Ethiopic, and the case-terminations just explained, there can be no doubt that it had separated itself at a very early time from the common trunk of the Semitic languages, and had, by the development of its organic forces, in the possession of which it already was at that time of severance, afterwards constituted itself into a branch of that trunk with a distinct individuality. Arabic is so distinguished above the other Semitic dialects by delicacy of expression, by wealth of words and grammatical processes, that those who pass to the study of it from Hebrew and Syriac, are struck with surprise. To explain this wealth, Arab philologists have invented a hypothesis scarcely acceptable to modern linguistic science, but nevertheless deserving to be taken into account for the portion of truth it contains. If we are to believe Suyuti * the Arabic language was produced by a fusion of all the dialects which the Koraysh tribe, brought on around Mekkah; they, being the guardians of the sanctuary, appropriated, from the various caravans flocking to it on pilgrimage, all the niceties of the dialects they heard spoken, to themselves; so that the whole elegance of the Arabic language became concentrated in their own idiom. The Koraysh, moreover, enjoyed from immemorial times the reputation of being the most eloquent Arabs *العرب أفصح* whose pronunciation was the purest and

the most free from provincialisms. By their position in the heart of Arabia they were exempt from the external influences of the Persians, the Syrians, the Greeks, the Kopts and the Abyssinians. During the lapse of ages matters have, however so changed, that Burckhardt, who was in 1815 in Mekkah, could find but extremely few Koraysh families, and, as we have seen above, Palgrave even

denies the inhabitants of that sanctuary of Islám the right of calling themselves Arabs.

Burckhardt, Niebuhr, and Palgrave only confirmed by their own experience the fact always asserted by the Arabs themselves, that the most uncorrupted and purest language is spoken by certain Bedouin tribes; and such may have been the case also with the Koraysh nomads, although no record exists that they had greatly distinguished themselves in literature before the promulgation of Islám. The most celebrated poets of that time belong to the tribes of central Arabia, such as the Kindians, the Bekrites, the Taghebites &c. Although the Arabs themselves state that before the time of Islám the Koraysh possessed no distinguished poet, it is well known that the Qorán itself was composed in their dialect. Now, again the questions suggest themselves whether it can be ascertained at what period the Arabs of the Hejáz began to write, from whom they took their letters, and whether we possess Arabic texts anterior to Islám, in a sufficiently authentic form to show in what state the language was before the composition of the Qorán?

We have already observed above that the alphabet of the Arabs was derived from the Syriac, which is also evident from a mere comparison of the Kufic with the Estranghelo (evangel-character) alphabet, and already the illustrious De Sacy had shown by the quotation of various texts that the case is such, as well as that writing was not known among

the people of the Hejáz and Nejd earlier than one century before the Hejira, and that, even for a considerable time after that event, it was almost entirely confined to Jews and Christians. The Arabs themselves unanimously consider Moramer to have been the author of their alphabet, and that name unmistakably reveals a title borne by Syrian priests. This Moramer is said first to have lived at Anbaram E'rák and then in Hīrah, where a Koraislite, or according to others, a Kindian, learnt to write from him, and then carried the art to Mekkah. The opinion, very widely current among the Arabs, that the Syriac language and writing were used first of all in the world, must no doubt be attributed to the fact that the Arabs had received their alphabet and their first literary culture from the Syrians. The alphabet of the Sinaitic inscriptions which represents very ancient Arabic writing, is likewise derived from the Estranghelo.

After the time of De Sacy, Dr. Aloys Sprenger collected facts which show that at least certain persons among the Arabs were in the habit of writing before Muhammad, and even that certain

apocryphal books had been translated into Arabic.* It appears, moreover, from certain manuscript Qoráns in the national library of Paris, written with the first form of the Neskhí characters, that they constitute a separate alphabet, which is according to Rénan† derived from Sinaitic writing; therefore this is one, and the Syriac—Kufic issuing from Estranghelo—another, origin of Arabic writing; so that it is, according to him, impossible to admit, as was formerly done, that Kufic is a reform of Neskhí, or that the latter is a degradation of the former. They are two alphabets independent in their origin, although more or less nearly related, inasmuch as the Phœnician alphabet was the ancestor not only of the Sinaitic and Syriac, but of all the alphabets of the whole Semitic family of languages. Many hundreds of inscriptions brought from southern Arabia by Halévy have been published, which show how largely the Hemyaritic characters were used there; but besides these and the above-mentioned ones, even Greek writing was to some extent current there, as Gregentius, the Bishop of Dafar, addressed his flock in that language.

After having thus disposed of the question concerning the Arabic alphabet, we may consider that of the Arabic poems anterior to the Qorán. Some portions of the *Ĥamasah*, of the *Kitáb-al-Aghání*, the *Diván* of the *Ĥodailites* and the seven suspended poems actually belong, not only as to their contents, but also in their form, to pre-Islamitic times. They represent to us events and individuals of that period, and appear to have undergone no change, except perhaps, in some small details. Such is the decision of the most competent European and Moslem critics, and to it we bow.

It appears from the scanty remnants of pre-Islamitic history that the Arabs had sooth-sayers, priests, and wise men, whom they consulted in all emergencies; whence the inference may be drawn that they must have had some kind of literature, and a proverbial philosophy common to the whole Semitic race, as in the Bible also sages belonging to Arab tribes are honorably mentioned, and the wisdom of Jemam had become proverbial (*Jer. XLIX, 7*); moreover all the interlocutors in the book of Job are of that tribe. The hypothesis that the Moslems had destroyed the literature of the pagan Arabs is, of course, incompatible with the fact that

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1856, p. 303 *et seq.*, and p. 375 *et seq.*

† I take this opportunity to acknowledge the great obligations un-

der which I am to the writings of this great Semitic scholar, in the composition of this paper; he had moreover expressed many well known facts better than other writers.

writing' had not become known to the Arabs earlier than a century before Muhammad; in the Hemyaritic inscriptions, sculptured some centuries before his time in Yemen, numerous idols are, indeed, mentioned, but this only shows that polytheism prevailed there before the other Arabs had learnt to write, and does not lead us to infer that any very valuable literature existed even there. Supposing it to be a fact that the poems purporting to have been composed several centuries before Muhammad, when the art of writing was yet unknown, were preserved only by oral tradition, doubts must arise whether it was sufficiently faithful to hand them down to later times perfectly unchanged. Amrulkays, the most ancient of the seven poets of the Moa'llakât, was born about A. D. 500, and all the other pre-Islamitic bards—the most illustrious of whom were Shanfara, Jhabbat-Sharran, Jarafah, Antarah, Háresh B. Hillizeh, Zoheyr, A'nru B. Keltúm, Asha, Nabeghah and Lebid—must be ranged between that epoch and the promulgation of Islám.

The diction of the pre-Islamitic poems is not very different from that of modern literary Arabic, and although the Moa'llakât contain many locutions and words which have fallen into disuse, their

Doubts as to the antiquity of pre-Islamitic Poetry. language is, on the whole, not such as might be called archaic; although it cannot be denied that these poems have long since become obscure even to the most learned

Arabs. They are always accompanied by commentaries, in which not seldom two or three explanations of one and the same verse are given. Moreover the poems in question, which were composed more than 150 years before the unity of Arabia was established, and among various tribes, living at great distances from each other, contain scarcely a vestige of provincialisms, or locutions peculiar to isolated portions of the country. Hence the conclusion must be drawn that long before the time of Muhammad the literary language extended from one end to the other of Arabia, whereas the unity of the classical language is said to have been established only by the preponderance of the Koraish and the extensive use of the Mekkah dialect in the Qorán; and it is on the other hand also certain that the Koraish had but a small share in the composition of pre-Islamitic poetry. Then in what manner is this unity of language in pre-Islamitic poetry to be accounted for?

The doubts just hinted at, are augmented by an examination of these poems. In these compositions scarcely any allusion occurs to the former religion of the Arabs, so that, after perusing them, we might be tempted to believe that they had none whatever before the time of Muhammad. Such a silence would be

inexplicable, except on the supposition that the works of these poets—who were avowedly unbelievers—had, after the establishment of Islām, undergone a castigation which eliminated from them every trace of paganism. It may also be affirmed that copyists refused to write, and grammarians to comment on, passages pregnant with heathen ideas. They no doubt considered the language as a revelation created all in a lump, and have probably also effaced many archaisms, which they must have considered as so many blemishes. Philology without critique always proceeds in this manner; as it possesses no idea of the changes of language, it would apply a uniform level to all ages, and compel authors of former times to conform to rules which had no existence in them.

Let us, however, admit that, after all, these considerations, which would be decisive for any other language or literature, are not of so much weight when applied to Arabic. On the one side the immoveability of the Semitic languages, and on the other the wonderful feats of memory which the Arabs have shown themselves capable of performing, especially in the conservation of their genealogies, enjoin us not to apply the general laws of comparative philology to the present question, except with the greatest reserve. Hebrew literature has already presented us with a similar phenomenon, and there also we have been struck with that identity of grammar which might at the first glance warrant the supposition that one and the same level had passed over all the monuments of that literature by manipulation in later times. It is certain that the Arabic language had become fixed very early, and that its purity had become the fashion long before Muḥammad. The strict metrical arrangement of the ancient poems furnishes us with another argument in favour of their integrity.

The origin of Arabic versification is very obscure. The poetical portion of the Qorán—the later Surahs—are composed in the free rhythm of ancient Hebrew poetry, founded solely on the turn of the sentence, the parallelism and the alliteration. Not only ancient, but also later, books have been composed in this style, which is the real form of Semitic poetry, and was by some European authors named “modulated prose,” a word, if we remember rightly, first invented by the illustrious Sir William Jones. Whatever hypothesis may be adopted regarding the causes which led the Arabs to introduce into their verses the mechanism of quantity, this introduction cannot be posterior to Islām. Accordingly we have here a sufficiently strong guarantee against any retouchings which the ancient Kaṣidahs might have undergone. We believe, in fact, that the Arabs have never altered their ancient poems on purpose, and that all their modifications are simply owing to the

difficulty of transmitting texts to posterity without the aid of writing.

As the Qorán determines the chief epoch of the history of the Arabic language, it is important to investigate the precise manner in which that book attained its definitive constitution. First of all, it is to be observed that, at the time when Muhammad

lived, the Arabs had not been in the habit of either writing regularly, or composing any kind of large work. The only example of a man used to literary composition during that period is said to have been Warakah Ben Nowfil, who translated a portion of the Gospels into Arabic, but used for that purpose the Hebrew characters; he was, however, only an isolated example. At any rate, the assertion that the Koraishites wrote habitually, is not very probable, and does not imply that they actually composed books. It is certain that the Qorán was gradually promulgated, as occasion required, during the space of twenty-three years, till it was completed, and there is no positive evidence that Muhammad was able to write. The Qorán in its original form was re-

cited and not read; in this sense also the word *Karáta* قرأت in Surah XVI, 100, and in other passages, is to be understood, although it is usually translated *Thou reuest*. The prophet himself is not known to have ever written, and, although he asked for writing materials when he was on his deathbed, they were not brought to him. The ambiguity with which Muhammad expresses himself about writing (XXIX, 44-47; LXVIII, 1; and XCVI, 1-5) leaves us in doubt whether he was actually able to write; but from XXIX, 47. "Thou couldst not read any book before this; neither couldst thou write it with thy right hand" it might be inferred, that there was a certain period when he could neither read nor write, but that after it he possessed both faculties.

The Arabs never thought of collecting the Qorán, which had been revealed piece-meal, till after the battle of Yemama, when many of those who could recite it from memory perished, and the Khalifeh Abu Bekr ordered a compilation of it to be made under the presidency of Zayd B. Thábet the chief amanuensis of the prophet. There is no doubt that the work was performed honestly and in perfect good faith, but only in a mechanical way, by taking the longest Surahs first and the short ones last; the copy thus produced was confided to the keeping of Hafeah, a daughter of O'mar, and a widow of the prophet. Another edition was produced during the Khalifate of O'thman, because certain differences of orthography and of dialect had crept into the copies

scattered about in various provinces. O'thmán again appointed a commission under the presidency of the same Zayd to establish an authorised text according to the Koraish dialect. To cut short the discussions which might afterwards arise about the correctness of the text, he adopted a process very characteristic of Oriental critique, ordered all the other copies to be collected, and burnt them. During the Khalifate of Merwán however, the leaves of Zayd himself were also burnt. It is thus that the Qorán has come down to our times without any essential alterations; and, among the ancient books of the world, it is generally believed to be the one that has been least tampered with.

Even in its style the Qorán was, at its promulgation, considered a great novelty, and it may be said that this book became the signal not only of a religious but also of a literary revolution. Among the Arabs the Qorán represents the transition from poetry to prose, from versification to rhetoric; a transition so important in the intellectual life of a nation. In the beginning of the seventh century the great poetical generation of Arabia was passing away; and traces of fatigue manifested themselves on all sides. Ideas of literary criticism made their appearance like a symptom of evil augury to the efforts of talent; and Antarah, that frank and talented poet who wrote immediately before the birth of the prophet, begins his *Moa'llakah* with the words:—"Have the bards who preceded me, left any theme unsung?"

When Muhammad appeared in the midst of an exhausted literature with his lively and pressing "recitations," he was received with immense astonishment. The first time when O'tbah, the son of Rabyah, heard the energetic and sonorous language, full of rhythm, although not versified, he returned quite amazed to his own people. "What is the matter?" asked they; and he replied:—"Indeed Muhammad used expressions which I never heard. His language is neither poetry nor prose, nor an incantation, but it is something penetrating." As Muhammad was a Koraishite, he no doubt disliked refined Arabic prosody. He often repeats that he is neither a soothsayer nor a poet, although his sententious and rhymed style somewhat resembles that of the former. When he quoted verses he committed errors of quantity, and God himself excused him for it in the Qorán:—"We have not taught him poetry, nor is it expedient to him; this is no other than an admonition and a perspicuous Qorán [*i. e.*, recital]." (XXXVI, 69). The word *mubyn*, usually translated "perspicuous, evident, distinct" appears to designate the Qorán as *eloquent* in prose, conformably to the word *bayán*. It is certainly impossible in our days to comprehend the powerful

charm of the eloquence of the Qorán, a continuous perusal of which in any, except the Arabic language, no one would attempt except Moslems: Stanley Lane Poole calls it "an impossible book for general reading*." But it is to be taken into account that the Arabs never had the least idea of the plastic arts of style, or of the great beauties of composition, which consist according to them only in the perfection of the details of style. The most important conversions, *e. g.*, that of the poet Lebid, took place by means of certain passages of the Qorán, but to those who asked for a sign, *آية*, Muhammad opposes no other reply than the perfect purity of the Arabic he speaks (XXVI, 195, the perspicuous Arabic tongue) and the fascination of the new style, of which he possesses the secret.

Dr. Weil has observed that, with reference to its style, the Qorán may be divided into two very different portions. The one, comprising the last Surahs, is composed in a rhythm analogous to that of the Hebrew parabolists and poets. The other, which embraces the first Surahs is written in modulated prose, which recalls to the mind the style of the prophets of Israel at times when it is less sublime than usual. The passages, brilliant with poetry, which constitute the last Surahs, were composed during the first portion of the prophet's career, a period of sincere conviction and spontaneous enthusiasm; whilst the Surahs placed first, are full of politics, charged with disputes and contradictions, and belong to the second, the practical and reflecting period, when struggles and the consciousness of difficulties to be overcome had tarnished the first delicacy of his inspiration. Thus the transition from poetry to prose may have taken place in the soul of the prophet, simultaneously with this transition in the whole of Arabia.

As soon as the Qorán had been spread in an authorized text all over Arabia, and recognized by the whole population as the book of God, it became at the same time also a real code, not only for religious, but also for grammatical legislation. The prophet declared that the Qorán had been revealed in the "perspicuous Arabic tongue" (XVI, 105; XXVI, 195.); accordingly it is no wonder that among the Arabs, where the language occupies so prominent a part, *that* of the Qorán became, as it were, a second religion; a kind of dogma inseparable from Islám. Few languages have during their life-time received so high a consecration. The Arabic of the Qorán is to the Moslem the language of Israel revealed anew to the prophet. It is the language which God will speak to his servants on the day of judgment.

* Life of E. W. Lane, p.p. 67 and 97. ;

As Muhammad was for a considerable time engaged in commerce and travelled about a good deal in the pursuit of it, he mixed chiefly with the settled population, and had not much intercourse with the nomadic Bedouin Arabs; there is also much

probability that the language of the more civilized people of Mekkah could not have been entirely the same with that of the lower classes. This is perhaps the reason why he so often calls the language used by himself "the perspicuous Arabic tongue" (e.g., XVI, 105 لسان عربى مبين) or as Savary translates it "the pure and elegant Arabic." Nevertheless not only words peculiar to other dialects than that of the Koraish occur in the Qorán, but also such as belong to totally different languages. The words *Tabút* تابوت, *Túryt* توريت, *Jahannum* جهنم, *Sakynah* سكينه, were taken from the Jews; *Enjyl* انجيل (III, 2) from the Christians; *Ferdús* فردوس (XVIII, 107) from the Greek; *Qasys* قسيس (VIII, 85) from Syriac; also *Burj* برج (IV, 80) and *Dynár* دينار (III, 68) with *Qyrtás* قوطاس (VI, 7) as well as *Qestás* (XVII, 37) are of Greek origin; *Sijil* سجل (XXI, 104) is Arabized and contracted from the Persian *Sang* سنگه *gil* گل and so are *Bostán* بستان, *Sandus* سندس &c.

As the Qorán was in every respect considered a perfect and divine book, it became also the exclusive standard of the language, referred to in every case, and imitated by authors. This is the chief reason why the Arabic language underwent no further development after the promulgation of the Qorán, which became also the cause of its unification, as far as that was possible in so vast an extent of country. Dialectic varieties could no longer maintain themselves as pure and distinct as formerly, and those of the Koraish naturally began to prevail, because the Qorán had been composed in their idiom. Many persons, but especially such as influenced the language of their tribe by their social position, learnt the Qorán by heart. Thus gradually the peculiarities of the Koraish superseded those of other dialects, whilst many of these were incorporated into the language of the Koraish, so that they became the property of the general tongue used by authors and by the people.

It may truly be said that the promulgation of the Qorán had terminated the history of the Arabic language, because since that time (about A. D. 650) the language has, at least in its literary and classical form, undergone no change; but what is more curious

still, is, that, according to Captain Palgrave,* in *Jebel Shomer*, as well as in the whole of Upper and Central Nejd, the Arabic of the Qorán is the language of the people. He says :—"The question is sometimes asked 'Is the Arabic of the Qorán and of the golden age of Arabic literature in general yet a spoken language, or was it ever really so?' The answer is affirmative: it certainly was a spoken language, for it is yet so in the districts above mentioned; not only spoken, but popular, vulgar even, at least in the etymological sense of the word. But the choicest display of Arabic elocution is in the public recital of the Qorán, in this the Wahhábys bear away the palm. Religious enthusiasm and scrupulosity worthy of a Jewish Rabbi at a Saturday reading of the Pentateuch, gives force to every consonant, depth to every vowel, and precision to every accent and inflection, till the hearer, even though an 'infidel' at heart, ceases to wonder at the influence exercised by these singular rehearsals over the Arab believer. For, whatever merit the Qorán can claim, lies wholly and merely in its remarkable eloquence and extreme purity of diction; good sense there is little, and reasoning is not to be expected. Hence a translation, however skilful, is simply intolerable; and few, I should think, have found their way through Sale's Qorán from beginning to end. But the very repetitions, monotonous formulæ, and abrupt transitions, which drive an English or a French reader to despair, add in the original Arabic to the force and rhythmical emphasis of the text, and are felt accordingly by its eastern auditors."

The Arabic written, in our times, by learned men in all Muḥam-madan countries, differs in nothing from the standard set up for imitation in the authorized edition of the Qorán published by the Khalifeh O'thmán. It may accordingly be seen, that, to complete the history of the literary Arabic language, we have no radical changes to dwell upon, but must confine ourselves to recording the external ones, chiefly relating to the solid establishment of orthographical, grammatical and other laws.

The imperfect alphabet with which the Qorán was written demanded first of all some reforms. Its greatest fault was that it had been applied to a language for which it had not been made. On the one hand it represented in an incomplete manner the peculiarities of the language to which it had been adapted, whilst on the other, many of its letters resembled each other, and were confounded with each other. These defects produced much hesitation in reading the Qorán, and dif-

Introduction of dia-
critical points and of
vowel marks.

ferences arose, which frightened the purists. To remedy this insufficiency of the original alphabet, two remedies were invented; namely the *diacritical points*, in order to distinguish letters of the same form, and *vowel-marks* as well as *orthographical signs*, in order to fix the sound of changing vowels, and certain varieties of pronunciation. Arab historians have transmitted to us more or less legendary details concerning the manner in which this reform, generally attributed to Ab-ul-Aswad (died A. H. 69 A.D. 688) was brought about. It is said that the copies of the authorized edition of the Qorán published by O'thmán contained no other characters, marks, or signs, except the letters of the alphabet. It appears even that the attempts of Ab-ul-Aswad to fix the reading were at first distasteful to strict Moslems, and that the erroneous lections which were constantly on the increase, ultimately compelled the adoption of these expedients. The introduction of the diacritical points and vowel marks was important in a religious and political sense, because it compelled readers and commentators of the Qorán to adopt a fixed and determined sense, whilst the original state of the book had left them the option of choosing between several manners of reading and of understanding it. To satisfy scrupulous men, the vowel marks and orthographical signs were written with ink of a different color from that used for the text. As to the diacritical points, they were not written with a different ink, because they were considered not to add any thing to the text, but only to facilitate the reading it. For facsimiles of this kind of ancient writing we refer the curious reader to some plates in De Sacy's Arabic grammar, as it is more accessible than manuscripts of the kind mentioned.

In spite of the improvements just alluded to, the Arabic alphabet remained very imperfect. To show this, no better proof is needed than that every time accuracy is aimed at in any book, it is necessary to spell the word by specifying the vowels. The transcription of foreign names, especially Greek ones, where the copyists could not be guided by analogy, is therefore so inaccurate in Arabic manuscripts, that many precious accounts concerning ancient history and literature, recorded in Arabic books, have become unintelligible to us. The defects of the Arabic alphabet have likewise been inherited by the Moslem nations who adopted it, and have led to the same vagueness, whereby it happens that in Urdu papers the name of the capital of France is promiscuously spelt Pyrz, Pyriz, Pyrs, &c. whilst the Turks more correctly print Párys or Párs.

The introduction of vowel-marks in Arabic, took place simultaneously also in Syriac and Hebrew. This attempt to fix the reading of Semitic languages in a more regular way took place

everywhere during the seventh and eighth centuries. The synchronism cannot be accidental and the analogies of the three systems of Semitic vocalisation are strong enough to present numerous points of contact in the three inventions.

Another movement, not less remarkable than the invention of the diacritical and orthographical marks, took place about the same time among the Semitic nations; it is the movement of the intellect which led them to reflect on their language and to produce a grammatical treatment of it. That period in the history of a race, when it begins for the first time to study the instrument which it had hitherto used in a spontaneous and unshackled way to express its ideas, is a solemn one. The reason why the Semitic race had betaken itself so late to the work of analysis must no doubt be sought in the

The dawn of grammar among the Semitic nations.

fact, that aptitude for grammatical researches always strictly depends on the spirit of abstraction inherent in a race. Among Brahmans, who have pushed all speculative studies so far, grammar emerges from the mythological times as an appendage to the Vedas. Already, four centuries before the Christian era, at a time when no other race possessed grammatical works, Sanskrit grammar had, in the hands of the celebrated Panini, attained a degree of perfection which has not been surpassed since. The Greeks succeeded, during the epoch of the Sophists, but especially through the labours of the school of Alexandria, in their turn, in creating a grammar, less profound than that of the Hindus, but revealing a great spirit of analysis and of observation.

The Semites, on the other hand, whose philosophical inferiority in comparison with the Aryans is too evident to be disputed, have only very lately tried to form a grammar, which is the more remarkable as they had in other respects attained to reflection very early. How, for instance, does it happen that the Hebrews, who were so marvellously endowed above the other Semitic nations, that they possessed admirable literary compositions more than a thousand years before the Christian era, had no grammar? This is not surprising during the first period of Hebrew literature—embracing the time before the captivity—because it contains no traces of rhetorical efforts; the language retained as yet all its simplicity, and the divorce between the idiom of the people and of authors does not yet make itself felt; but it is more strange that during the second period, when literature was almost totally in the hands of learned men, when traces of artificial composition became manifest, when scholars made use of a language already dead—the standards of which occur only in the ancient books—and when the Hebrews began to take extraordinary care to preserve their

national monuments, not even the dawn of a grammatical idea can be discovered. It is more strange still, that, some centuries afterwards, when the fever of scrupulosity and subtlety takes so great a hold of the Jews that they begin to count the letters of their sacred books, to surround them with points, accents, and a luxury of signs unknown in any other language, not a trace of grammar occurs. Regular treatises of Hebrew grammar begin to appear only in the tenth century of our era, as an imitation of, and under the influence of, the Arabs. It is true enough that the Syrians composed some grammatical essays towards the fifth century; these were, however, only direct imitations of the Greeks; abortive attempts that had no consequences. Semitic grammar was in reality not established before the end of the seventh century of our era, when the Arabs, who had come into the possession of a classical and sacred text, were, in order to ensure its integrity, obliged to surround it with a conservative apparatus.

Supposing the language of the Qorán, as shown in the first compilation of Zayd, made about A. D. 634, to have been a perfect representation of the colloquial tongue of the Moslems who rallied, after the death of Muḥammad, around Abu Bekr

and O'mar, it must be admitted that this First beginnings of grammar among the Arabs. tongue soon became almost foreign to the larger circle which was gradually being gathered into the fold of Islām. In fact,

twelve or fifteen years afterwards we find the same Zayd engaged in a labour chiefly of grammatical emendation. It was necessary to put an end to all varieties of dialect, and so accommodate the orthography of the Qorán to the idiom of Koraish. The more the new faith extended over a greater variety of tribes or races, the more difficult it became to maintain the purity of the sacred language. The blunders committed by proselytes were, to the Arabs of the old school, a perpetual subject of affliction. It was, no doubt, a great difficulty for the rude soldiers of the first Khalifchs to observe the niceties of the Koraish dialect, but especially the mechanism of the final vowels. If this mechanism actually constituted an essential portion of the dialect consecrated by the Qorán, as we are bound to believe, it must at least be admitted that the majority of the Arab tribes were unacquainted therewith, and that in the seventh century, as in our days, the inflections of the cases were neglected in the colloquial language. But the faults committed by readers went often so far as to change the meaning of the text. Grammar was the remedy opposed to the errors which threatened to alter the word of God.

Suyuti attributes some treatises on special questions of grammar to Ab-ul-Aswad, but it is doubtful whether this patriarch of

Arabic grammar had written anything as a professional author ; and perhaps even his being considered as the president over the labours which were being prosecuted in the schools of Boğrah and of Kufah, is due to his great reputation. Sibaweyh (about A. D. 770) is the most ancient grammarian whose writings have come down to us, and he already deals with a doctrine anterior to his time ; it is even asserted that he only developed and enriched with some observations the treatises of Abu A'mru E'sa Thakefi Ben O'mar who had lived one generation before him. No matter what the case may be, in the work of Sibaweyh, and consequently in the second-half of the eight century, Arabic grammar presents itself in a nearly complete state. The numerous grammarians who wrote afterwards merely remodelled and explained the doctrines of their predecessors.

The question whether foreign influence can be detected in the formation of Arabic grammar, must be answered in the negative. Had the Syrian Christians been the founders of grammar among

No foreign influence is perceptible in Arabic grammar.

the Arabs, there is no doubt that some traces of such an influence would be discoverable. The history of Arabic literature, if not very accurate, is at all events very complete, and

there is no doubt that a fact of such importance as foreign influence in grammar, would scarcely have escaped attention. Moreover the formation of Arabic grammar seems to have been an entirely Muhammadan work. The preservation of the language of the Qorân is the essential object kept in view by the grammarians ; they were generally puritans in their religion as well as in their language, devoted to A'li and the ancient civilization of the Hejâz. It is true enough that the functions of the *Kâtib* or writer were during the first centuries of Islâm usually performed by Syrian Christians *, but they could never have entertained for the sacred language of the Muhammadans that love, and that kind of devotion, which animated the labours of the Arab grammarians. It is only afterwards, under the Abbasides, when the Arab genius had become considerably weakened at Baghdad, that the Syrians became the teachers of the Moslems ; but only in the positive sciences which had nothing to do with the religion or with the language, or with strictly so-called literature.

The same reasons, as those just adduced, oppose themselves to the admission of Greek influence in the formation of Arabic grammar. Till the epoch of the Abbasides, the Arabs had

How far is Greek influence admissible ?

remained strangers to Hellenic studies, and, even when these flourished most among them, but very few Moslems actually knew Greek.

* *Journal Asiatic*, November and December 1851, p. 432, seq 3.

All these studies were based on translations of which Syriac Christians had been the actual authors. Lastly, the Arabs never cared for any Greek books except those which treated of science and philosophy; they remained complete strangers to all works of literature, history and grammar. It is also absurd to suppose that they would have felt any interest in, or elicited any meaning from, theoretical treatises relating to a language which was unknown to them. It is of course not impossible that certain general notions, such as the division of speech into three parts, the noun, the verb, the particle—usually attributed to A'li—may originally have come from Greece, and that Arabic grammar may in some distant manner have been influenced; but of a direct loan no distinct signs exist. As to the sciences borrowed by the Arabs from the Greeks through the intervention of the Syrians, such as logic, metaphysics, astronomy and medicine, the vestiges of their origin are quite plain; numbers of Greek technical terms are transcribed and translated in such a manner as to reveal the original at once. The name of the science is nearly always Greek, as well as the divisions of it; nothing of the kind occurs, however, in the grammar or the rhetoric of the Arabs. The names of these two sciences, the technical terms, the divisions, the general conceptions, all are Arabic. Whilst the Arabs acknowledge that in other sciences they are much indebted to the ancient Greeks (*Yunányin*), they are convinced that grammar is a privilege reserved to them by the Omnipotent as one of the surest signs of their pre-eminence over all other nations.

Greek influence over the Arabs must be limited to philosophy and to the natural sciences, but it lasted only during the ninth century. Before this influence took place, and beyond its circle, the Arabs had already in the seventh century, but especially during the eighth, invented branches of rational speculation, for which they were indebted to their own genius; namely,—grammar, *نحو*, jurisprudence, *فقه*, theology, *كلام*, and all the polemics of

the first Moslem sects. This is, properly speaking, the period when the scholastic spirit made its appearance among the Semites. Before this time the Syrians had reached the speculations of theology, only by embracing Hellenism. As to the Jews, if it be true that in this, as in all other matters, they had preceded their race, and that they had in the Talmud given the first Semitic specimen of the discursive style, it must be admitted that the destiny of this nation was, at least after the establishment of Christianity, of too special a nature to allow us to take them as a standard by which the capacity and development of the race to which they belong is to be measured.

Without approaching the perfection of Sanskrit, Arabic grammar presents the analysis of human speech in a manner worthy to occupy the attention of philologists. It appears to us to be at least equal to the grammar of the Greeks ; it is perhaps less com-

Style. complete as far as the theory of forms is concerned, but certainly richer with respect to syntax. Like all ancient grammarians, either of India or Greece, so also the Arabs know only their own language, and of that they are acquainted with the classical and contemporary state only. Hence the absolute dogmatism of their explanations, apparently supposing that only one language exists in the world. Guided by the peculiar structure of the Semitic dialects, the Arabs have understood much better than the Greeks the investigation of the pure root concealed under a variety of derived forms.

As soon as the Arabic language had attained supreme dominion in the Muhammadan world, a great epoch began in the Semitic languages. Formerly confined to the expression of sentiments and facts, these languages now entered the domain of abstract thought and the fields of literature based on the highest degree of reflection, such as grammar, jurisprudence, theology, scholastics, philosophy, history, physical sciences, mathematics, technical writings, and bibliographical works. Thus originated complicated forms, plays with particles and niceties of syntax, unknown in Hebrew and Aramaic. Hitherto the Semitic style had presented only two forms, the rhythmical, or poetical, based on parallelism, and the prose-style which was still more unshackled, but nevertheless obeyed a certain shape, the verse ; in fact *the verse* was the supreme law of the Semitic style of composition down to the Qorán inclusively. But it may be conceived that this form, however commodious it may have been for narratives and poetry, could not be employed in scholastic disputations. With a language thus broken up, reasoning becomes impossible, and therefore the abandonment of the verse corresponds exactly with the beginning of theological discussion among the Semites. The Arabic prose-style is as continuous as that of any of the most developed Aryan languages. The symmetrical cadence was retained only for the intermediate style alluded to already above, and not inaptly called modulated prose.

Poetry itself underwent a similar transformation. It had hitherto, among the Semites, been purely rhythmical, and was not distinguished from prose, except by a more artificial arrangement of the phrase, by plays on words and on letters, as well as by a certain bias for rhyme. Destined to express individual feelings and transient events, poetry floated in tradition without arriving at a text, fixed syllable by syllable ; but in the commencement

of the century preceding the promulgation of Islám, poetry became learned, complicated, and subject to a prosody very distant from the original genius of the Semitic languages. At first these compositions, which were somewhat artificial in form, maintained the ancient prestige by a singular originality of poetical inspiration; but poetry, neglected by the prophet, and deprived of the intuitions which constituted its life, declined rapidly after the promulgation of Islám. It still continued to live in the desert, during two or three generations, among Bedouins who were almost strangers to Muḥammadanism. Later still the progress of the new religion, and the political changes with the abasement of the Arab race, caused nearly all its vestiges to disappear. Transported from the desert to the courts of Syria, of Persia, of Khorásán, of Morocco and of Spain, Arabic poetry becomes in the hands of Motenebbi, of Ab-ul-A'lá, and of their imitators a simple play on words, falling, through Persian influence, more and more into affectation and bad taste. But it is to be remembered that in these miserable substitutes, Semitic taste, which is sober and serene, has no part, and that the superabundantly flowery style now called "Oriental" is chiefly due to the taste of the Persians and Turks.

During the first centuries after the promulgation of the Qorán, all the Semitic languages, the dialects of Ethiopia alone excepted, disappeared before the Arabic, which gradually absorbed them. To explain the facility with which the various branches of the Semitic family thus gave up their dialects, it is necessary to consider that in reality much linguistic unity already existed among them. The feeling entertained by nations

Arabic is the treasury of all the Semitic languages.

concerning the relationship of idioms, is far from being as extensive as that resulting from linguistic researches. To a scholar the affinity between French, German and Russian is evident, but it is perfectly inconceivable to the people at large. No concurrence of circumstances could effect the combination of one of the three languages just-mentioned with the two others; but the case is not the same with Italian and French; the illiterate Italian and Frenchman both feel that they speak languages which are essentially the same. If France, Italy, and Spain, were to be united into one political body, a common language would very soon be the result. As the Semitic dialects are not much more different from each other than the Romance languages just mentioned, it may easily be understood that they opposed but a feeble resistance to the cognate language—the Arabic—which aspired to absorb them.

It is, in fact, certain that Arabic is in many respects the treasury of all the Semitic languages. It would appear that the united

lexicographical and grammatical resources of the family had contributed to establish this vast totality. There are scarcely any processes in Hebrew, Syriac or Ethiopic which Arabic does not contain, whilst it possesses a series of mechanisms peculiar to itself alone. It is true that several characteristic qualities of the Arabic exist also in the other Semitic languages in a rudimentary state; thus, for instance, the model forms of the future exist as germs in de-apocopated future in Hebrew; the final flexions in the paragogic or emphatic Hebrew and Aramaic terminations; nearly all the forms of the verb regularly employed in Arabic exist in Hebrew or in Syriac, in the state of rare and anomalous forms; but these are only germs, scarcely indicated, which have been fully developed in Arabic, and there constitute, with other well regulated mechanisms, in their totality, as imposing a system of grammar as any language has ever attained.

It would be a frivolous question to ask, whether Arabic is to be considered as superior to the other Semitic languages. Arabic perfectly expresses the order of ideas for which it is adapted; this order is quite different from the Hebrew and Syriac one. Many shades of significations, rendered in Hebrew and in Syriac only in an embarrassed manner, or not at all, possess in Arabic fixed grammatical rules. The Arabic style possesses an amplitude unknown to the older Semitic languages; but this progress was purchased at the price of many defects. The sober and harmonious Hebrew forms have been destroyed, and a stiff, pedantic monotony has superseded the unshackled liberty of ancient idioms, whilst everywhere the marks of an artificial and learned cultivation obtrude themselves. Taste underwent the same change; the charming echo of parallelism, which imparts inimitable grace to Hebrew poetry, is broken, and the grave beauty of the antique style is superseded by paltry rhetorical ornaments and by the niceties of grammarians.

The prodigious lexicographical wealth of the Arabic language entails more inconvenience than advantage, as it crops out into a vagueness greatly detrimental to clearness. On observing the variety of meanings (almost contradicting each other) attributed in dictionaries to one and the same word, we are seized by a kind of vertigo. Such a want of precision would be unbearable, if the dictionaries had not, in this respect, somewhat exaggerated the real difficulties of the language. The nearest approach to a lexicon based on the study of Arabic authors, and on quotations from their works, is that of Lane. Hitherto European lexicographers had done nothing more than follow the Oriental ones step by step; these, however, although they had worked with much patience, were not discriminating, and often inserted in

their dictionaries, words which are not real, or used, *e.g.*, metaphorical expressions, epithets, and sometimes erroneous explanations of commentators. Lastly, many words occurring in large dictionaries appear to have been provincialisms of a special or unusual kind, never to be met with in books. Thus an Arabic dictionary has become a singular chaos, in which, however, all that is wanted, may be found with a little trouble. In comparative philology, any Arabic words, or meanings of them, the existence of which is not certified by an example, but by the mere authority of lexicographers, must in general be considered as of no account. The forgetting of this rule, and the abuse of the Arabic dictionary for the elucidation of obscure Semitic words, have, from the time of Schultens till our days, caused much inconvenience.

The indiscriminate and uncritical manner in which Arab lexicographers admitted words into their dictionaries, explains the apparently incredible facts sometimes quoted to show the wealth of the Arabic language. We have already above alluded to certain writers who had taken the pains to collect several hundred words designating the camel, the horse, the lion, &c. and a European, the well known Austrian orientalist, Hammer Purgstall, has, in a special memoir on the subject, given not less than 5744 names, designating a camel. This abundance of expressions for one and the same thing becomes more intelligible, if it be considered that most of them are only epithets, changed into substantives, and tropes used by poets, and that this exuberance of synonyms is confined to natural things only. When we peruse old Arabic poetry, we constantly meet with new and unknown words, applied to the same objects; this greatly surprises us at first, but we gradually console ourselves when we consider that many of these words would, without the aid of commentaries, be unintelligible to the Arabs themselves.

The Semitic languages, hitherto enclosed within a small circle of countries, have, through their chief representative, the Arabic, obtained a larger extension. Never have conquests been more vast and more sudden than those of the Arabic language as the sacred idiom of the Muhammadan world. Latin was once spoken from Italy to the British Isles, and Greek from the Black Sea to Abyssinia; but what is this to the immense empire of the Arabic language, which was current in Spain and Sicily, and is in our days the sacred language of a portion of Europe, of Africa down to the equator, and of large portions of Asia, even as far as the Malayan Archipelago and China?

It is not our intention to follow up Arabic in its long peregrinations through all the Muhammadan countries, as their sacred

Propagation of Arabic and its influence on Muhammadan languages.

language, but merely to give a sketch of its propagation and influence. After the time of Muḥammad, Arabic underwent the fate of those languages which ceased to belong to their original country, and became the property of the provinces they had conquered. Here, however, as everywhere else, and always, the dominant character of the Arabic language, namely its unchangeableness, makes itself felt. Whilst Latin produced, by decomposing itself, a series of new languages, which were first colloquial only, but became afterwards ennobled by the labours of authors, Arabic nowhere gave rise to regularly characterized local dialects. On the one hand, when the Arab race conquered E'râq, Syria, Africa and Spain, it everywhere preserved its language; whilst, on the other, it spread only as the language of scholars in Persia, and among other Moslem nations of Asia, where it likewise retained its unity. The style of the authors who wrote in Arabic, was the same in India, in Khorásân, in Spain and in Morocco. The same studies, the same classical authors, and the same grammatical instruction prevailed, and still prevails in our days, throughout the whole Moslem world.

The same causes which precluded the formation of provincial dialects after Arabic had become the sacred language of the Muhammadan world, also prevented the development of various peculiarities during successive ages. Each author did his best, and displayed more or less correctness or elegance, but it is impossible to classify them according to periods of time and countries. The manner of writing imposed by Islâm was absolute, and the Arabic language presented itself with such a prestige of perfection, that no nation which adopted it, ever thought of modifying its rules for the purpose of obtaining an instrument more appropriate to express thoughts.

It is true enough that Persia, unable to bear the yoke of the Arabic spirit, formed in the bosom of Islâm a religion and a literature accommodated to its own instincts; this re-action took place by a return to the cultivation of the national language, and by forcing Arabic to bend to its habitudes. The language of E'rân, having been driven out of Mesopotamia by that of Arabia, was confined to the eastern provinces, where it acquired a new literary life in the eleventh century of our era under the influence of the indigenous Seffaride, Samanide and Ghaznavide dynasty. This is the origin of the new Persian literature, the genius of which is so different from Semitic taste. Thus it may be seen that the inflexibility of the Arabic language was in no way imperilled, and that every possibility of the creation of new Semitic languages ceased for ever.

Persia alone had the strength to cause its own language to triumph over Arabic in literary use, because it presents without contradiction the most persistent individuality in the whole East. Neither the Greek, nor the Muhammadan conquest, nor the Tartar invasions, nor the triumph of Islām, which had during centuries apparently smothered the language, could hinder it from regaining life. Both Turkish and Urdu are nothing but a prolongation and an imitation of Persian literature.

When Arabic had become the literary language of the countries converted to Islām, it exerted the most decisive influence on nearly every Muhammadan language of Asia and of Africa. Thus Persian was charged with Arabic words, and the Arabic alphabet adopted. This borrowing of words took place at first soberly enough; the style of Firdausi for instance, is almost pure Eranian; all bounds were however soon overleapt, and it became fashionable to write in a mongrel language in which nearly all the indigenous words had been superseded by Arabic ones, and the grammar alone remained Persian. Even here, however, pedantry could not stop short, and it was considered good taste to use two synonyms of the two languages in juxta-position, *e. g.*, "*Beçyd wa shikâr ishtughâl numûdy*" *بصید و شکار نمودی* just as if we were, instead of simply saying "he used to hunt," to write "with *venatio* and hunting he *occupatio* showed."

Arabic exercised a similar influence in India after its invasion by Maḥmūd the Ghaznavide—beginning of the eleventh century—but chiefly through the intervention of Persian, which was the only language spoken by the conquerors. On that occasion the mixture of Hindi with the language of the Moslems began, which produced Urdu; a language that was gradually ennobled, has a literature, and enjoys considerable importance in this country.

Turkish presents a still more striking example of linguistic combination. Whilst retaining its Turanian grammar, it has nearly abandoned its own vocabulary, for which it has substituted a mass of words borrowed from Arabic and from Persian, so that a phrase of ten words sometimes does not contain one Turkish vocable. This is a curious phenomenon of a language formed of three families; the dictionary is partly Semitic, partly Aryan, and the grammar is Turanian. The Malay language is another example of the same kind; whilst it was under Hindu influence, it consisted of an idiom mixed with Sanskrit, Japanese and Kavi words, but with Islām it received the Arabic alphabet, and also accepted a portion of the mixed vocabulary which Moslems carried wherever they went.

This promiscuousness of languages which has prevailed since the thirteenth century in Muhammadan Asia, but especially at the

Arabic words may be optionally used in Muhammadan languages.

courts, is a fact of which the history of language in general presents us perhaps with the only example of the kind that ever existed. On the one hand we have a learned and sacred language, which had everywhere become the vehicle of religion and of high literature; whilst, on the other, the vocabularies of two or more languages come into general use, and only the grammars, which remain distinct, constitute the individuality of the languages. Thus, for instance, in writing Persian, only words of that language may optionally be used, as some purist poets have done, or nearly all the words employed may be Arabic, but treated according to the exigencies of Persian grammar, as some writers do from pedantry. Also in Urdu, either words only of Hindi origin may be admitted, or they may be superseded by such as have been taken exclusively from Arabic or Persian. The changes and mixtures of nations, which have, since the propagation of Islām, taken place among those who were converted to it, explain this strange phenomenon. Asia is moreover also by nature a polyglott part of the world, and there, not seldom, two or more languages are spoken on the same soil; this fact meets us every day in India, and therefore needs no explanation, as well as that the simultaneous use of various languages entails the necessity of possessing at least a superficial knowledge of some, which knowledge again produces a mixture of words. People of slender or of no education are always tempted to use words of various languages of which they may happen to know something, but as to grammar, they are, on the contrary, incapable of learning any other than that with which they were born.

This is the actual difference between the linguistic revolutions of Europe and of Muhammadan Asia. Combinations of languages, such as we have just described, remained almost totally unknown in Europe. Linguistic revolutions in Europe take place through the grammar; a new spirit begins to prevail in a language, destroys it, and re-constructs it on another plan. In the Semitic languages, on the contrary, the revolution takes place through the dictionary, whilst the grammar remains immovable like a kind of empty shelf into which the most varied words are inserted successively; and of the Muhammadan east in general, it may be said without exaggeration, that it contains but one single dictionary, composed of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words. This is the reason why a form of ^{*}polyglott dictionaries, like that of Meninski, is the only advantageous one for the modern languages of the East. A Persian dictionary, to be complete, must actually contain all the usual Arabic words, whilst a Turkish lexicon ought to contain the words of both the languages just-mentioned.

The Arabic race met in Africa with a soil marvellously disposed to receive it, and whilst it was in Asia unable to penetrate with its language beyond the limits of Syria and E'ráq, we perceive it

Arabic influence in Africa and in a portion of Europe.

spreading by a kind of infiltration towards the west, over the whole coast of northern Africa, into the Sahara, Soudán, and as far as the Atlantic Ocean. On the west, Arabic influence extended as far as Guinea and southwards to Kafraria, whilst it spread along the eastern coast as far as Zanzibar, and thence also into the interior to a certain degree. The purity with which the language, manners, and religion of the Bedouins have survived in several of these distant localities, but especially in the desert, is the best proof that the desert is the true country of the Arab. In eastern Africa the religion and the language of the Qorán are still progressing; they represent a degree of civilisation which the negroes have in many instances willingly accepted both in western and in eastern Africa.

Even Europe has not escaped the influence of the Arabic language. It is well known that many Arabic words and even scientific terms, especially in chemistry and astronomy, have become current in the European languages*; but this is not the place for specifying the numerous scientific works which have during the Middle Ages been translated from Arabic, and have imparted considerable impulse to the revival of learning.

After having discussed the literary Arabic language as represented in books, we shall terminate our observations by considering the language as it is spoken by the people; and for that purpose we must first obtain a clear idea of the difference which separates literary from colloquial Arabic, and of the historical circumstances which have given rise to this difference:—

Colloquial Arabic. Vulgar Arabic is essentially nothing more than the literary language deprived of its scientific grammar, and of its rich vocalisation. All the final inflections, expressing either the cases of the substantives, or the modes of the verbs, are suppressed in the colloquial. The delicate mechanisms of literary syntax have in vulgar Arabic been superseded by others, which are more simple and more analytical. Prefixes and isolated words mark the shades of meaning, which are in literary Arabic expressed by the play of the final vowels; the tenses of the verbs are determined by words added to the aorists in order to specify their signification. As far as the dictionary is concerned, the superabundance of words which rather

* I have collected a vocabulary of Arabic words used in European languages in my *Prise Essay on the reciprocal influence of Muhammadan and European civilization, &c.* Bombay 1877, p. p. 122—145.

encumbers than enriches literary Arabic, has altogether fallen away in the colloquial language, which knows no other besides the current Semitic words, the meanings of which have sometimes become slightly different from their ancient sense. Some foreign words, different in various provinces, which have crept into this language, current over an immense extent of countries, are the only non-Semitic elements in it.

Here the remarkable fact is to be noticed, that vulgar Arabic has remained much closer to Hebrew and to the essential type of Semitic languages than the literary idiom. Moreover the grammatical proceedings, and the words added to the common stock of the language by the literary idiom are unknown in the colloquial language; and the Semitic character of both these additions is dubious. If we consider that the majority of flections are omitted even in literary Arabic, and are not essential parts of orthography, we perceive that several orientalists have not without apparent reason considered the colloquial to be the true Arabic language, and the literary idiom to be merely a factitious one, invented and used by authors only. This is according to Captain Pulgrave * a strange mistake of some orientalists, and it is worth while quoting his opinion on the point. He says:—"And first in a general way I would suggest that rules do not create facts, but explain and methodise them; and that systems are not causes, but commentaries on things in existence. However, in addition to this general argument, two special reasons leave no room for doubt that the 'Janween' was in use long before Ebn-Kháled, and the 'Naşb' before Zamakshari. The first is, that the whole metre and rhyme of innumerable poems, the original literature of Arabia, and remounting to the earliest historical, and even mythical date, entirely depend on the correct application of these rules, not then indeed rules, but usages. He who would try to read aloud the productions of Shanfura' or Amr-ul-Keys without observing 'refaa' and 'jezm,' 'wasl' and 'hamza,' would be equally at a loss to discover in their odes, either measure or rhythm, as he who should translate Pope or Horace into German, and look for the alcaics of the one or the pentametral scansion and coupled rhymes of the other. Now we know from early testimony that the Arabs spoke as they versified, and that among them the poetical and the current language were one and the same; in short that the difference between rhyming and talking lay only in the arrangement of the words, not in the words themselves. These rules, or rather the facts they indicate, are therefore of an antiquity at least equal to the staves in which they are embodied—that is, long prior to the grammarians of Kufah and of

Bograh. A second and equally conclusive proof of the priority of the spoken to the written grammar is its actual and living existence among high and low, educated and ignorant, throughout widespread populations and remote districts, where the very names of the philological purists of the north were never heard, and where peasants and camel-drivers can only so speak, because their fathers so spoke before them, while their fathers learnt in turn from their fathers, and thus up to the very origin of the nation and of its language. The isolation of these localities has preserved them from foreign corruptions of phrase and word; but it alike precludes all supposition of after-teaching or imported lore. On the contrary, when the same language, overspreading lands to the north, east and west, where Koptic, or Syriac or Persian, or Kurdish, Turkish or Berber had hitherto prevailed, lost in uncongenial mouths its original precision and perfection, and was now allowed with the Eranic vocabulary, now distorted by Aramæan analogies, then, but not till then, came the necessity of study and rules, of schools and professions, to fix the standard, and save the original type from total oblivion. Thus what had at first been nature, became art, and fluent speech crystallized into books and grammars."

It is difficult to imagine, how a language as learned as Sanskrit could have been colloquial, and we ask ourselves whether Arabs had ever been accustomed to utter in conversation those slender flections which merely indicate grammatical relations? No Arab, when he speaks, ever takes the trouble to observe all the niceties of literary Arabic. It may also be said that the language of Cicero was very different from that spoken in the streets of Rome, without implying that on this account there were two Latin languages. Every man uses a language in conformity with his education and his intellectual capacity. There are many persons who have never made use of certain processes of syntax existing in their language, merely because these processes are applicable to an order of ideas superior to their own. The same may be said also of certain classes of words for which uneducated persons have no equivalents, but use such expressions only as are at their command; in fact, every civilized language possesses a grammatical and lexical wealth not displayed through the ordinary idiom, but only in the literary productions of scholars. Hence the general axiom, applicable to all antiquity, that the learned language, such as it has been transmitted to us in books, was never the same with the vulgar idiom, as revealed by inscriptions, and in the derived languages.

Supposing the Arab grammarians to have pushed a little too far their subtlety, and their tendency to establish, as rules, pro-

ceedings of which the people had but an inkling, they could never have gone so far in their reform as to touch the very nature of the language and to introduce therein mechanisms entirely unknown before. Such an attempt would be absolutely unheard of in the history of languages. Grammarians have never succeeded in imparting to a language properties foreign to its nature. Moreover, numerous facts prove that the processes characteristic of literary Arabic were partially used in the ancient language. Firstly, several of these mechanisms depend upon the consonants themselves, and can therefore not have been introduced into the language with the vowel-points, *e. g.*, the mark of the accusative, the differences of this case in the plural and in the dual, the special termination of the dual, &c. Secondly, the flections of literary Arabic are necessary to explain the prosody of the ancient poets—as already observed above in the quotation from Palgrave—a prosody, the invention whereof can in no hypothesis be considered posterior to the movements of the schools of Boğrah and of Kufah. Thirdly, in some much used words, such as *akhu*, *akhi*—اخي اخو—*abu*, *abi*—ابي ابو—*fu*, *fi*—في في, &c, the case flections are expressed by quiescent letters, and are observed even in conversation. Fourthly, in Ethiopic and Amharic the same inflections occur and are only employed differently. Fifthly, the information we possess about the first grammarians, shows that they insisted on the processes of the language, but in no wise sought to enrich or to reform them. Lastly, the antiquity of case flections has in recent times obtained an unexpected confirmation from the decipherment of the Semitic inscriptions, for which we are indebted to the sagacity of Tuch. The final flections of the nominative and of the genitive are, in these inscriptions, marked by the quiescents *vaw* and *yod*. Tuch has observed that a trace of this usage occurs in the Arabic word *Gashmo* גשמו mentioned in Nehemiah (VI. 6.), which Rénan believes to be identical with *Jashm* چشم, of frequent occurrence in pre-Islamitic Arabic.

From what has preceded we find ourselves compelled to admit that the case-terminations, usually called nunations, are of ancient origin, although they have late enough become subjects of grammatical treatment, and have always been neglected by the majority of the Arab tribes.* If the fluctuation of vowels be considered among the Arabs, it will not be surprising how the junction of vowels became

The case-terminations are of ancient origin, but were never real declensions.

* In the same way the pronunciation in Italian of the final letter in *fare*, *cammino*, &c., depends on caprice or the fashion of the province.

This remark holds good also of Portuguese, at least in Bombay, where we hear *caz*, *cammin*, for *casa*, *caminho*, &c.

subject to much uncertainty, and how in many cases purists have taken it upon themselves to decide whether *Damma*, *Fatha*, or *Kesra* was to be used. When deciding these dubious pronunciations, they were often obliged to attribute to euphonical vowels—whose introduction first took place merely to avoid collisions of consonants—grammatical significations, of which the people had but very vague ideas. Thus the selection of a vowel became a matter of nicety and enquiry. Instead of distinctly pronouncing *a*, *i*, or *e*, the majority of tribes continued to utter a sort of common short vowel, resembling the French *eu* or German *ö*, used in the Semitic languages to express all the variable sounds whose nature is not clearly indicated by a quiescent. It is at least certain that in Arabic the final vowels never had the value of real declensions, because they do not vary according to the form of the nouns; because they are not written like the essential flexions marking the gender and number; and lastly, because they are something superficial and inorganic. In the general theory of language there exists no word to express this particular grammatical accident, which some European authors have, for the want of a better word, as analogous to a process in their own languages, called *declension*; the word for it is *E'râb*, اعراب, and means *explanation*, * because in reality these slender vowels are simple exponents of the part which the word plays in the phrase; this is so true, that according to the opinion of the Arabs not only the noun is subject to this process of receiving an exponent of relation, or, in other words, *to being declined*, but also the verb.

The final flexion, *i. e.* nunation of the accusative, *an*, is the only exception to the character of feebleness presented in general by the Arabic terminations. It is used in vulgar Arabic as an adverbial termination. Also Hebrew displays manifest traces of it either in the paragogic and locative *ha* הָ *e. g.*, *ertzaha* אֶרְצָה "towards the earth," *shemâyma*, שְׁמַיִמָּה, "towards heaven," or in the termination *m* מַ of adverbs, *e. g.*, *yômam*, יוֹמָם, "in the day," and even in some substantives, where according to Munk the *m* מַ wrongly stands for an affix.

Thus, without attributing to grammarians the invention of the mechanisms of literary Arabic, we admit that these mechanisms are partly conventional, inasmuch as purists have converted processes which were undecided, or suitable only for certain words and fluctuating, into fixed rules. With the dictionary they dealt in a similar manner; they sanctioned the influx of words never used by the people, and thus made the language artificial not only

* See "Grammaire Arabe," Silv. De Sacy, p. 395, T. I. Edition, 1831.

in its grammar, but also in its stock of words to some extent. The distinction between literary and vulgar Arabic has no other origin.

After the grammatical treatment of a language, it always becomes different from that used by the people; and then only the popular idiom begins to be spoken in contrast to the learned tongue. The development of the language is so to say bisected, and henceforth proceeds in two contrary directions, which diverge in course of time from each other more and more; the vulgar supersedes the primitive language by progressive corruption, and the literary supplants it by progressive culture. Hence it may be seen that literary Arabic is not altogether a factitious idiom, as some philologists have asserted, nor colloquial Arabic a corruption of the literary idiom, as others have pretended; but a language more ancient, more rich, and more symmetrical than vulgar, and less regular than literary, Arabic had existed, and from this ancient language these two have issued in opposite directions, as has just been observed. Primitive Arabic may be compared to what the Latin language must have been before it was regulated by grammatical works about two centuries before the Christian era, and literary Arabic to Latin during the age of Cicero about half a century before it.

Arabic could not escape the tendency of all languages towards dissolution, on account of the inability of successive generations to confine their thoughts within the synthetical forms of the language of their fathers. The Arabs themselves do not consider literary and vulgar Arabic as two different languages, but merely as two forms of the same tongue; the one grammatical and the other ungrammatical. There are moreover so many intermediate degrees between the two, that it cannot be said where the colloquial terminates, and the literary Arabic begins.

In conversation the vulgar idiom is uniform enough, and it is considered pedantic to make use of the case-terminations of literary Arabic; nevertheless every man who writes, tries according to his ability, to approach literary Arabic as much as possible by his choice of words, as well as by the observance of grammatical rules. Written style fluctuates through a variety of shades, from the purest Arabic down to the most corrupted. The style of epistolary correspondence between illiterate persons is very negligent, and scarcely differs from vulgar Arabic; whilst there is another, more careful style, used for writing letters, songs or tales, which is not yet perfect Arabic, but is also not the colloquial; lastly, there is the entirely grammatical style which some educated persons in Muhammadan countries still write correctly.

According to what has preceded, it may be seen, that the analogy between literary and colloquial Arabic in no wise resembles

that between Latin and its daughter languages, where the decomposition of the old, and the formation of several new languages has taken place; whereas in Arabic no analytical decomposition resulted. Vulgar, is not disjointed literary, Arabic, afterwards reconstructed according to a new model; it is a more simple, more easy, and in some measure more ancient form of the Arabic language, which has alone remained the language of the people, whilst literary Arabic was adopted by scholars. Vulgar Arabic was not written, because it is only an ungrammatical variety of the general language, which it is found more convenient to write according to rule.

Literary, that is to say written, Arabic, like all learned languages, has no dialects, but vulgar, namely colloquial Arabic, which

is spoken to this day, not only in the whole of the immense peninsula of Arabia, but also in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, &c., as far as Cape Blanc on the Atlantic Ocean, naturally has many. Every province manifests its own preference for certain words or expressions, and has its own pronunciation; nevertheless the dialects of Arabia, of Syria, and of Egypt present no *grammatical* difference, and a small number of locutions commonly used in one of these countries, not employed but generally understood in another, form almost the only discrepancy between them. The dialects of Arabia itself are the purest of all, and among the Bedouins of the desert, as well as in parts of Yemen, a language closely resembling literary Arabic is spoken; such is the case also with men of education in Syria, O'mán and Mesopotamia who have *acquired* this correctness, unlike the Bedouins just mentioned to whom it is natural, and whose roving and isolated life singularly favours purity, whilst the horse-dealers who come to Bombay from Koweyt, Boçrah and Baghdad betray a lamentable knowledge of their own language not extending beyond the most rudimentary stage of it, as acquired in childhood; also pronunciation is so varied amongst them that we have heard the word designating "a hen" called by a man *degagah* according to the Egyptian, by another *deydyah* according to the south O'mán and lastly *dejájah* according to the correct pronunciation; such trifling differences require however only to be marked once, when they cease to be puzzles. The Qorán, being the standard not only of the religion but also of the language, constitutes the bond of union and the common ground on which a man from the extreme north-west of Africa can meet one from the south-east of Asia in easy intercourse if they both happen to be scholars; but in the contrary case it will be more difficult. Thus, we observed in Bombay two Arabs conversing in Turkish, the one being a native of Algiers

and the other of Nineveh, merely because both knew Turkish and could not understand each other's Arabic; but there is no doubt that if they had been ignorant of the Turkish colloquial, they would soon have surmounted the difficulties of each other's pronunciation in their own; the more so, as Arabic has everywhere so far retained its character of incorruptibility as to prevent, even in the dialects, any internal changes in the words, and to allow purely external concretion only, namely, prefixed or affixed vocables and letters. Thus, possession is expressed in Boçrah by affixing the word *mál*, مال, thus a man would say *Beyt málý*, بيت مالى, "my house," instead of the literary Arabic *Beyty*, بيتى, only. In Barbary and other countries *metáa'*, تاع, or *dyál*, ديال, are used to designate the same relation; and whilst the future tense is in Barbary marked by prefixing *K* ك e. g., *keyiktab*, كيكتب, Syrians, Egyptians, and others use *b*. ب and say *beyiktab*, بيكتب, "will write," leaving the word entirely unchanged both in the singular and in the plural, as in modern English, and prefixing only the required personal pronoun. These vulgar expressions are, however, never admitted into print, and must be considered as belonging merely to the colloquial; the books now composed and printed in Cairo, Beyrut, Constantinople, &c., are written in the same language which was used more than a thousand years ago.

ART. VIII.—NOTES ON THE RYOT OF BEHAR.

TO those who have visited a Behar village about the hour of noon there are few places which present an appearance of more sleepy repose. The group of houses lying in the belt of trees, approached by a rough cart-track, wet and muddy from the stream trickling over the side of the narrow water-course, by which a couple of peasants are irrigating their poppy from the neighbouring well; a herd or two of buffaloes and cows, enjoying a lazy ease in the shady mango tope alongside, a few cow-boys playing near their charges, these and the two well-waterers, the only signs of life so far visible; then the village street, silent and deserted, but for a squalid-looking beggar-man and several half-starved dogs asleep in the sun, furnish a picture from which the elements of life and action seem almost wholly wanting.

The scene is somewhat different in the evening, when village life wakes up for a space. Then the cow-boys collect and drive home their cattle with noisy shouts and ejaculations; the men, returned from their work in the fields, sit or stand about in groups idly gossiping; the women are busy at the *baniyah's*, buying the frugal necessities of life; the grog-shop has its usual customers, and there is all the lively stir and hum of human beings amusing, bargaining and quarrelling with each other. But soon after dusk the stir dies away and the village is hushed in slumber and silence, unbroken, save for the howl of the jackal and pariah dog, or the equally unmelodious cry of the *chowkidar*, when that worthy official happens to be awake and going his rounds. It is a fiction that that functionary walks through the village at stated intervals during the night, rousing the inhabitants of each dwelling; but, fortunately perhaps for the sake of their slumbers, the custom is one more honoured in the breach than the observance. Again, in the early morning, should any one chance to be in the village soon after daybreak, he would witness the stir and bustle of the inhabitants rising to their daily tasks; the cultivators going out to the fields; the cow-boys taking out their cattle to water and to graze; the *baniyahs* opening their shops; the women loitering round the well where they are come to draw water for their household wants, chattering there awhile, till one by one they walk off gracefully, band on hip, and the *ghurra* cunningly balanced on their heads. Then, as the sun mounts high in the heavens, the village gradually sinks again into the silence and stupor of midday and afternoon repose.

Similarly, to the inquisitive stranger the Hindu peasant presents an appearance of extreme apathy and indifference to himself, his belongings, his interlocutor, and the world in general. Garrulity in a native is seldom met with; the women, too, are by the custom of the country, debarred from indulging in that gossip with a traveller of the opposite sex, which in other lands they love to indulge in.

Appearances, however, are proverbially deceitful, and the rule holds good here as elsewhere. This stagnation in village life and apathy in the individual villager is, for the most part, on the surface. As the former wakes up to din and business on market days, discordant music, shouting, dancing and processions at marriage and religious festivals, wailing and lamentation at funeral rites, so the latter has beneath his outward crust of apathy and indifference really passionate feelings, which have only to be touched in some sensitive part to be roused to a display of the most vivid and intense excitement. Beneath his taciturn and *nonchalant* manners are feelings deeply implanted in his nature which lend to his existence, passed though it be in some retired and out-of-the-way spot, an interest and excitement which a busy life in cities fails to impart to many of us. He possesses strong affection for his home, an absorbing interest in his fields, pride in his family and caste, and respect for the orders and observances of his religion. His house represents to him all the endearing associations and sacred privacy of domestic life; there he is autocratic, and safe from intrusion; his fields are his own as long as he pays his rent, and from them he derives that sense of dignity which the possession of land always conveys; his religion affords him relaxation and amusement at stated periods, while, through the personal rites it ordains, it enters into the every-day concerns of his life and creates in him a sense of familiarity with his gods and a consequent high estimate of his own self-importance; the caste supplies him an opening into public life, when at meetings of the *punchayat*, formally convened, vexed questions are discussed, disputes adjudicated on and backslidings punished.

It is unfortunate that, from the insuperable barriers set up by religious and caste prejudices, we English can have but a slight and superficial knowledge of native domestic life and character. Exception has often been taken to our dealings with the natives of India in this respect. We have been charged with cherishing feelings of coldness and pride towards them, with manifesting intolerance of their ways and customs, with holding ourselves aloof, instead of associating, as we might, with them in social and familiar intercourse. This barrier between us is attributed to the prejudice of race-feeling on our side, and the over-weaning

pride of the white man. Such a feeling of pride no doubt does exist among our countrymen in India, but we have no hesitation in saying that it has very little effect in keeping up the barrier between the two races. There have been, and are still, enough Englishmen in India whose kindly sympathies towards the Asiatic, as well as their sense of duty, would make them speedily break through the petty bonds of race-prejudice and establish familiar intercourse between the two peoples, were this race-prejudice the only obstacle existing. It is, in fact, the Hindu caste which renders vain and futile all efforts in this direction; it is the Hindus themselves, not we, who reject the hand of friendship we hold out for their grasp. We may eat their dinners, but not expect our host to sit down to table with us; we may accept their hospitality, but are debarred from returning it; we may receive them inside our houses, but can never penetrate beyond the courtyard of their dwellings; we may introduce them to our wives and sisters, but must not expect to be made acquainted with theirs; we may accept a direct enquiry after our wives as a civility, but must forbear to return the courtesy otherwise than in the most studiously obscure language; in short the door of a native's *home* is as completely closed to us as if he were a prince and we were beggars. It is with the natives of India, and not with us, that the blame of this separation between the two races lies. We can only regretfully admit that it does exist, and that, consequently, where the domestic life and character of the natives of this country is concerned, our ideas are at the best extremely crude and imperfect.

Similarly, of their religious ceremonies we have but little personal knowledge. We should pollute them by our presence. They are principally associated in our minds with hideous tomtomming and discordant shouting.

Some little knowledge, however, of domestic life we may acquire from hearsay, or a study of the records of our police courts and courts of law.

The houses of the native peasantry are built within an enclosure, which is surrounded by a fence of thatching grass and bamboo; or a mud wall secures the privacy of the household. The interiors of their dwellings are scrupulously clean and neat; the mud floors and walls are constantly smeared with a preparation of cow-dung by the women, and present a smooth and almost polished surface. The greatest attention is paid to the cleanliness of their cooking and eating utensils. In their daily ablutions also they offer a striking contrast to Europeans of the same class. Their houses are, however, over-crowded and very badly ventilated. There is generally a muck-heap in close

proximity to their door. They are insanely regardless of the purity of their drinking water.

It is generally the case that several families occupy a set of dwelling houses within the same enclosure, consisting of the parent couple and their sons, with the respective wives and children of the latter. As may easily be supposed, this practice does not always conduce to the domestic repose of the household. Mothers-in-law are proverbially destructive of the peace of newly-married couples. In England the husband is generally depicted as the victim. In India it is the wife who has to bear with the temper of her husband's mother, often no easy task. The women of the country, as is well known, are married when they are quite children. After the ceremony they remain some time longer at their parents' house till they become old enough to enter really into the marriage state, when they are taken to their new home. There they do not enter the house in the position of its mistress; this belongs to the husband's mother. She is supreme, and woe-betide the unfortunate young wife who has to deal with a bad-tempered mother-in-law. Even her husband's influence cannot protect her. Respect for his mother is one of the ruling principles in a Hindu's code of morality. The newly-married husband, practically a stranger to his wife, may be indifferent to her feelings. But even if she win his affections, there is little he can do for her against his own mother. When the father is alive, the son has of course no authority. When the former is dead, the latter is still bound by his duty as a son not only to support his mother, but to allow her an abode in his house. He cannot even insist on her taking up her dwelling elsewhere without incurring the greatest odium from public opinion. The mother's position is consequently impregnable, and some of the village domestic scandals that occur are due to this and her bad treatment of her daughter-in-law.

In such cases the young wife, missing the affectionate care of her own parents, finding her husband unwilling, or at all events unable to protect her, is at length goaded by the ill-usage of her mother-in-law to despair. She may run away to her old home, or she may end her misery with her life by throwing herself into the nearest well, or by taking an over-dose of opium. In the former case the husband has sometimes to call in the assistance of a *punchayat* to get her back; in the latter the tragedy may be hushed up completely, or the police may have to be called in and the family obliged to submit to the disgrace of an inquest and the annoyance of an official enquiry. The occurrence is then probably attributed by the parties concerned to accident, or adds one more to the list of suicides, and is forgotten.

Village public opinion goes to considerable lengths in allowing a husband complete authority over his wife. It sanctions his inflicting the extreme penalty of death where actual infidelity is discovered. Before our police administration was so widely extended as it now is, such rude justice by no means existed only in theory. Our penal code at the present time bears witness to the horror with which the Hindus regard the crime of infidelity on the part of a wife. It is, indeed, through his female relatives that a Hindu mostly dreads disgrace, however humble his rank in life. As the system of child-marriage, and perpetual widowhood tends to develop immorality among the women of the country, so strict rules of conduct are felt to be required to counteract this tendency. To this feeling we may attribute the severe and sometimes fantastic rules of etiquette by which women above the labouring classes are hedged in and barricaded. Thus, though the two families may be occupying the same twenty square feet of dwelling, the elder brother must not be allowed to see the face of his younger brother's wife; she must always appear veiled in his presence. To this also may be attributed the almost comical reticence of a married couple regarding their mutual relationship. It is this which compels the widow, whatever her age, to forswear fine raiment, good living and soft lying, and for the rest of her life to content herself with coarse garments, without ornaments of any description; one meal a day, the hard floor to sleep upon, and, hardest of all, to pronounce the name of the dear departed a fixed number of times every twenty-four hours. She has her compensation, however; for a clever widow will rule the household outside as well as inside as long as her strength and intellect last, and be the prime agent and manager in all family matters, even after the male head of the house is a gray-haired, middle-aged man. With all their affected superiority over their women-kind, the Hindu husband and son are often subject to petticoat-government.

But eliminating the scolding mother-in-law, the unfaithful wife, and the disconsolate widow from the picture, the ordinary aspect of a Hindu village dwelling is happy enough. There is often strong affection between the husband and wife. The woman, uneducated as she is, finds enjoyment in very simple things. She has her household work for employment; for relaxation she has a daily gossip with her female friends at the bathing ghât in the morning, and her evening stroll after dark; while for more exciting pleasures she has the occasional present of a new ornament, and the great festival days, when she marches in her brilliant *sari*, one of a gorgeous coloured band, to the bathing ghât and temple. Children make a considerable part of the

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happiness of both parents. The father's affections centre in his offspring, all the more fervently because they have never been much drawn in the direction of conjugal love as we understand it. The affection of a Hindu father for his children, especially the boys, is one of the striking and at the same time most pleasing points in his character.

But the chief object on which the Hindu peasant's thoughts are fixed, the centre to which his most eager hopes and wishes are attracted, is the soil which he tills. Herein lies one of the principal differences between the peasantry of this and our own country. In England they are merely agricultural labourers, with no interest in the soil beyond the wages the farmer pays them; in Bengal they are not only the cultivators of the soil; they are also in possession of it, and the crop they grow is their own. Subject to the rent they pay, even tenants-at-will, within the limits of the agricultural year, hold their fields in complete possession. They plough and sow the land, reap the crop and enjoy the fruits of their labour. Even the hired labourer in many instances possesses a field, which he can call his own for the space of a year. To the peasantry of this country land means everything; by the land they gain subsistence, comfort and wealth; in the land is their only means of existence; nay more, the very reason of their existence; for in their eyes the obligation is mutual; the land was made for the cultivator, but the cultivator was equally made for the land. Take away his land and you take away the object of his life. It is this feeling which prompts a Hindu even to commit suicide rather than give up what he considers his right in the matter of his fields. Such cases are rare, and these sentiments may not often find their full expression; but they do represent the real feeling at the bottom of every ryot's heart on the subject of his land. All the years of an arbitrarily imposed landlord class with a proprietary right in the land have not been able to eradicate it. Never was a fairer opportunity missed of creating a prosperous, substantial class of peasant-proprietors than Lord Cornwallis lost. It is not necessary to argue the subtle question in whose hands at that time the property of the soil lay. The sovereign of the country had always claimed a certain amount of revenue on account of the land. They exacted as much as they could of this from the tax collectors. The latter collected the royal revenue, and as much more as they could squeeze out of them, from the cultivators. The cultivators came off badly in the process; but no one ever thought of interfering with their possession of their fields. If they failed to pay the revenue they were imprisoned, beaten, tortured, perhaps murdered, but not evicted. At the time of the permanent settlement the

village communities in Bengal were for the most part broken up. Lord Cornwallis had two courses open to him, either to deal directly with the cultivators or through the revenue collectors. He chose the latter. He did more, however; he created these collectors into a class of landed proprietors, modelled on the English system, a privilege which they had no right to look for, and probably had not expected. Choosing, as Lord Cornwallis did, to retain the revenue collectors between Government and the cultivators, it was certainly prudent, and for the interests of all parties, to bind the former down to good management and proper treatment of the cultivators by giving them an interest in their welfare as proprietors. But thereby the policy became final. The new class thus created and firmly established by pledges which no succeeding Government could repudiate, has become in some sort what it was intended to be, a landed aristocracy between the sovereign and the people, but whether a beneficent aristocracy or the reverse, is a question.

It is curious that Lord Cornwallis should have adopted this policy of creating a landed aristocracy just at the time of the downfall of the most splendid aristocratic system in Europe. We should have thought that, with the fearful abuses inherent in that system and their result before his eyes, Lord Cornwallis would have hesitated before introducing a similar one into this country where there were not wanting indications to show that the people were quite as susceptible of oppression as the French peasantry, and those in power quite as ready to oppress as the French nobility.

The policy was adopted honestly and with the best intentions; it served no doubt to mitigate some of the worst evils of the time, but it resulted in imposing the dominion of the few over the many, in enriching a privileged class at the expense of the population. Therein lay an injustice, the worse because irremediable, a germ of possible complication for the future.

Enamoured with the system of landed property in his own country, Lord Cornwallis thought it must answer equally well in India. He forgot that it had grown up there in the course of many years out of a state of things entirely different from what he found existing in this country. Here there had been no invasion and conquest of a rude, half-civilized nation, necessitating a feudal system. The only thing approaching to a military service required of the zemindars was the performance of police duties. On the other hand there was a peasantry in actual possession of the soil, whether individually or in community, with certainly more claim to be recognized as its owners than the only other class between them and the sovereign, the tax collectors. When

the zemindar class was created, its very existence in those early days of our administration required that large executive powers should be placed in its hands. Thus a class whose hereditary instinct was plunder, who had no experience of the ultimate gain from a liberal and kind treatment of their tenantry found themselves vested with absolute ownership over large properties and an almost unlimited power of enforcing their will in opposition to that of their ryots.

To the latter a state of oppression had so long been their normal condition that their position under the new order of things did not seem unusual. Besides the separation between different castes was calculated to prevent combination. To these facts, and especially the latter, we may attribute the passive acquiescence of the Bengal peasantry in their position, but the instinct of their personal right to the ownership of the soil in opposition to the zemindar claim has never died out. It manifests itself in many ways, and has rather gained ground than otherwise. No doubt the increase of this feeling is in a great measure the result of our legislation. It was found expedient to limit the powers of the zemindar. The full amount of tyranny and oppression inflicted on the cultivators, while the power of imprisonment still remained in their hands; when our law courts and police stations were scattered few and far between, will never be known; but sufficient traces of it still remain to show how grievously the zemindars abused the confidence imposed in them by Government. Traces of the old zemindari system of collecting rent are still to be found in many villages. We may credit Lord Cornwallis with the best of intentions towards the ryots, but unfortunately the failure of his legislation, as far as they are concerned, is only too apparent. It is not to be supposed that Lord Cornwallis ever contemplated a state of things which would render the bare lease of the right to collect the rents of an estate a lucrative speculation. Yet such is the case, and fortunes are made by persons gathering into their hands the leases of many villages.

What was intended was that the ryot's holding should be secured to him, his rent fixed, that he should be free to cultivate what crops he pleased; that just as Government recognized perpetuity of tenure and fixity of revenue for the zemindar, the zemindar should recognize the same principles in dealing with his ryots. Yet we are now brought to face the fact that in many districts of Bengal there are many villages where the zemindar will unblushingly assert that not a single ryot has got a right of occupancy. Had the zemindars carried into action the principles they pledged themselves to by their acceptance of the position given them at

the settlement of their estates, this state of things would not be possible. *Ticadaries* would never have been found the road to fortune; indigo cultivation would have been established on a fair footing to the cultivator; many evils would have been avoided.

In legislating for the future, Government should bear in mind that it was the zemindars who went outside the lines laid down for them, and the ryots who have consequently suffered. If it is bound to the zemindar by the regulations of Lord Cornwallis, it is equally bound to the ryot, and it should not rest satisfied till the rights of the present generation of cultivators are secured to them in fact, and not merely between the pages of the statute book, as firmly as it was intended to secure the rights of their forefathers.

Apart from the ordinary duties of cultivation, the ryot finds an incessant source of occupation in his fields. He has to keep watch against encroachments over his boundary by his next-door neighbour. At the ploughing, sowing and reaping seasons, he has to guard against the destruction of his crop by stray cattle, or, what is worse still, sometimes the invasion of his field by the cattle of a malicious enemy; perhaps he may have to come to blows with the owner of the cattle upon the question whether, they shall be taken to the pound or not. He has, when the crop is ripening, to keep watch at night against the depredations thereof by thieves. Perhaps he is at variance with his zemindar on the matter of rent and may have to dispute his right to plough, sow, or reap the crop with his landlord's servants. A free fight with *lalties* is not an improbable incident in the settlement of this difference of opinion. Or he may have purchased the land of another ryot, sold up by the landlord, or *mahajan*, and not be able to get possession of them without resorting to force. There may be a boundary dispute with the next village, in the course of which occur continual reprisals, in the shape of plundering crops, damaging them with cattle and so on, winding up at harvest time with a riot between both sides. It is at harvest time that a ryot gathers all his energies together to defeat his opponent. It is a matter of comparatively small importance to the side which reaps the crop, who has tilled the ground and sown it. Indeed it not uncommonly happens that both parties sow the land, or one side will allow the other the trouble and expense of the cultivation, and take no action till the harvest season when the crop is ripe, when they will step in and reap it forcibly or by stealth. At harvest time, too, the impecunious or recusant ryot will do all he can, either by wiles or by force, to gather in his crop out of the way of the zemindar's servants, so as to escape a distraint for arrears of rent.

The ryot, however, does not, as a rule, appeal to arms, unless he has the advantage of numbers on his side, and, as far as this goes, he may be held to be a peaceable and law-abiding individual. Failing in numerical force he has recourse to the law courts, and as a criminal case is less expensive and easier to manage than a civil one, he generally commences his attempt in the magistrate's court. But in one way or another the criminal court, where magistrates are weak enough to entertain such cases, is only the vestibule of the civil court, where sooner or later the ryot once embarked on such a course of action is pretty sure to find himself. As questions connected with land are at the bottom of most disputes in this country, the ryot is thus brought into frequent contact with the courts of law, and an anomalous and not altogether pleasant phase in his character is thereby disclosed. In all the other concerns of life he may be a simple, upright, honest man according to his lights and the customs of his forefathers. Let him become involved in a lawsuit and these qualities become miraculously changed to their converse. He may or may not have the excuse of being satisfied with the justice of his cause; once embarked in it, no means of winning it appear too unfair or too dishonest. It is even no uncommon thing for a native of this country to spoil a good case by mixing up falsehood with truth in the hopes of improving it. Still there is something to be said for a man, who, knowing that he has an honest cause against an unscrupulous opponent, fights his enemy with the best weapons he has at his disposal, and invents evidence which does not exist. The lamentable thing is that he so easily finds others ready to assist him. One reason for this is that our courts of law are not adapted to awe persons otherwise disposed into speaking the truth. Our form of oath is a farce. It is no more binding on a native than his bare assertion that he intends to speak the truth would be. It only serves so far that, a person taking it becoming legally liable to punishment for perjury, the threat of what he incurs by speaking falsely may be sometimes held in *terrorem* over him. Unfortunately the difficulties that lie in the way of a conviction for perjury are pretty well known and but few witnesses are much frightened at the risk. What is required is some superstitious sanction. A Christian kisses the bible and is conscious of a sacred obligation to speak the truth; at least all but professional witnesses are. We do not say that Christians never perjure themselves from motives of self-interest, we only say that the sacredness of the oath they take, acts to some extent in most cases as a hindrance, though not always an effectual one, against their bearing false witness.

Some such obligation would be conveyed to the mind of a Hindu were he made to swear by the forehead of his child, or of a Mahomedan were he made to swear by his beard.

Then the moral atmosphere that surrounds our courts is so absolutely foul that it can hardly help tainting every thing that passes through it. In the neighbourhood of every *kachari* and court of justice there are men whose profession it is to prepare cases, invent them if required, or, fill in the flaws and carefully polish up the whole till they are fit to bear daylight. These men take the country yokel whose very simplicity would make him blurt out the truth, and prepare him for the witness-box as carefully as any orator is coached for the hustings, or actor for the stage. Inside the court the witness has nothing much to contend against to make him forget his part. The oath to him is an empty form with no meaning in it. The judge may be theoretically the incarnation of virtue and justice; but from the moment he takes his stand in the witness-box, his own pleader is far the most important personage in court to the witness, whose whole attention is taken up with answering the questions put to him on his own side in the proper tone and spirit, and in successfully parrying the questions of the opposite pleader. To the witness the whole proceedings appear in the light of a game of skill in which he is one of the pieces. His mind is entirely occupied, not with any idea of the right or wrong of the case, but with creditably sustaining the part assigned to him, or supposing him to be sharp and intelligent, of improving on it, if he get the chance. He lies, when necessary, without any scruple on the score of morality. He has been fitted with a conscience for use in court and that tells him that to lie successfully is praiseworthy, to lie so as to be found out only is shameful. Any shame he might have felt at lying openly before his fellows, acquainted with the truth, is removed by the comparatively small number of his own acquaintance present, and probably these are interested parties, not to be counted otherwise than as friends or opponents. There is no newspaper reporter to let the public in his own neighbourhood know what he has said. It will be comparatively easy for him hereafter to represent his words in court in the form which will best suit public opinion in his village. That this restraint of publicity should be so entirely wanting in our courts is one of their principal defects. Could they be held on the spot under the spreading *peepul* tree of the village, in the presence of the elders of the people, away from the vicious influences of *dalals*, *mooktars* and low-class pleaders, the truth would be easy to arrive at. Held as they are now, justice must

frequently miscarry. A timid people, oppressed and trodden down for generations by tyranny and misrule, are naturally prone to falsehood; and from their present education in that direction in our courts of justice this quality bids fair to become inveterate and hereditary.

This consideration leads up to the very interesting question of the expediency of investing local *punchayats* with jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal cases. The subject is too long to discuss here; we would only suggest that if a proper material for such local courts can be found, a return to simple forms of justice, while in the interest of the poorer class of suitors, would also be a step in the direction of that economy which Government seem now seriously to intend introducing into all branches of its administration.

No one interested in the welfare of the peasantry of this country can help being struck by the extent to which they are exposed to the depredations of the criminal classes and the loss and discomfort they endure on this account. In England we hear of extensive jewel robberies, of comfortable farmers eased of their pocket-books on their way home from the market town, of burglaries in lonely country houses and theft of family plate; but the poor cottager is considered safe from plunder by reason of his poverty. In India, on the contrary, poverty is no safeguard. It is the poor pilgrim with nothing but his *lotah* and a few pice, and not the rich retinued traveller, who falls a victim to the professional poisoner; the poor man's cottage, and not the rich zemindar's house that attracts the professional burglar. The criminal classes of this country are so far contemptible and insignificant that a Government strong enough to repress the open violence of numbers affords sufficient safety to those whose circumstances protect them from the secret violence or stratagems of individuals. The rich man, travelling with a retinue of servants, has now nothing to fear from *thugs* or *dacoits*, and his house is tolerably safe from the danger of midnight burglary. *Thuggi* and *dacoity*, while they lasted, were crimes that affected the rich as well as the poor, the former being more victimized than the latter; it is as creditable to Government, as beneficial to its subjects, that they are things of the past, but it is not impossible that, in stamping them out effectually, Government has rather shifted the burden of loss on to the poor man's shoulders. House-thefts and burglaries, the crimes now affecting what we may call the village population of the country, have hitherto baffled the efforts of Government to repress them. The number of such crimes that occur in every district during the year and the small proportion of them in which the culprits are brought to justice, or stolen property

is recovered, shows what hardship this form of crime must occasion, and how difficult it is to repress.

Perhaps we are apt to under-estimate the suffering occasioned by such offences; they are so easy to commit, and so very easily attended by violence or loss of life. The value of property stolen may often seem to our eyes small and trifling. But when we consider that the theft of a few maunds of grain, of one or two gold or silver ornaments, of a few brass *lotahs* and *thali*, probably means to the owner short commons till next harvesting season, and the loss of all the articles of luxury and comfort he possesses, we shall be inclined to sympathize most fully with him in his misfortune. The circumstances that follow theft of this sort are often nearly as vexatious as the theft itself. The police of course have to be called in, and a police enquiry, even under the most favourable conditions, is not an unmixed pleasure in any country, least of all in India. Where the loss of property is above the most trifling amount, some effort, or at least show of effort, to recover it must be made on the part of the police. Statistical returns have done so much, at all events, for the public, that the police are stimulated thereby to recover the property and catch the thief; a doubtful advantage this, however, to the individual party concerned in any particular case, and more often leading him to a loss of time and trouble than to any good result. It is indeed notorious that persons will often understate their loss to save themselves and the police trouble in looking for property which will probably never be found. In the course of an ordinary enquiry the police proceed from one village to another, searching the houses of the well known bad characters in each. The owner of the property, or some members of his family, must accompany them everywhere so as to be ready to identify any of the stolen articles that may turn up. Many a weary mile for several days he may have thus to tramp about the country with the officers of the law till something is found, or till the search is given up. The result of so much trouble is frequently *nil*. Sometimes stolen clothes are recovered, ornaments, which are quickly melted down, rarely so. Even the poor satisfaction of vengeance on the offender is often lost, for evidence, quite sufficient in the eyes of the aggrieved party to convict him, is perhaps found wanting when weighed in the fine scales of justice. The attendance on the police is bad enough, but perhaps the attendance at the magistrate's court, when the police succeed in finding some one to prosecute, is as bad, if not worse. Then the complainant and his witnesses have to walk miles into the head-quarter station, and may have to wait about the court for a day or so till their turn for examination arrives, to find in some

cases after all, that they have come on a fool's errand and that the culprit escapes unpunished before their very eyes.

In nearly every village there are one or more suspicious or bad characters. They are known for such generally to the police, the *chowkidars*, and the villagers themselves. It would seem at first sight that where the criminals are so well known crime ought to be easy of prevention, or at least of detection. Its frequency, its immunity from detection, and the class of people robbed, are at first sight matters of surprise. We have not far to go, however, to find the reasons of these phenomena. For the first two the explanation is that there are few villagers so poor as not to keep a store of grain, a few ornaments, a few cooking utensils, a few spare clothes in their houses, and the natural defences of these houses are so ridiculously weak. The wall round the courtyard or enclosure is low enough to be easily scaled; the walls of the dwelling houses are made of mud or grass matting, and the thief, armed with the rudest iron-pointed instrument, or even a sharp-pointed bamboo, can without difficulty bore a passage under them and through the floor rapidly and noiselessly, large enough to admit a man's body into the interior. Once inside the house, the plunder is not difficult to get at. The grain is kept in a mud receptacle easy to break open; clothes, ornaments and cash are often kept in baskets, or if they should be in a locked chest, the lock is of the rudest description and easily smashed. The cooking utensils are probably not shut up at all. The light in the house, if any be kept burning, is very insufficient, and escape without recognition, should the inmates of the house be aroused, presents no difficulties to the thief.

But allowing that burglary and house-theft are easy to commit, ought not detection speedily to follow? There are several reasons why the offenders so often escape with impunity. The bad characters are pretty well known, but at the same time they are, as a rule, not wholly devoted to crime. The professional thief often cultivates land, and possesses cattle of his own. He may be the tenant of some influential cultivator in the village, or his ploughman, or bound to his service in some form or other, in return for which he claims the protection of his master, and generally gets it. In some parts of the country persons of respectable position are to be found who do not disdain to profit by the misdoings of their dependents, and in all parts the thief is often protected by some superior to whom he is useful. It is not easy for the authorities to bring home his crime to such a man. Even the complainant may think it best sometimes to hold his tongue; the police may themselves be bribed, or if the case come before a magistrate, the criminal may have funds furnished him for bribing

the prosecutor's witnesses, or purchasing the evidence of witnesses for his defence, and so escape after all.

Another circumstance which facilitates the commission of crime, as well as renders its detection difficult, is the condition of the village police or *chowkidars*. These men are still, as they always have been, chosen from one or other of the criminal classes. This if properly worked ought to add to their usefulness to the regular police. Theoretically it is the duty of the village *chowkidars* to keep a strict watch and ward in the village at night, to perambulate the streets and lanes, and by their activity prevent any midnight marauder from having leisure to complete his crime; it is also part of their duty to watch the movements of the bad characters in their village; to knock at their doors at night to see if they are at home, as orderly persons should be; to report to the police the unusual absence of any of them from their homes, and to notice the visits of any strangers or suspicious characters to their houses; when hue and cry is raised, to give the police information of the places where successful search is most likely to be made. In short by their alertness and vigilance to prevent the commission of crime, and where it does occur, to give their best assistance to ensure its detection; and there is little doubt that if the *chowkidars* performed their duties in the spirit as well as in the letter, the present frequency of house-thefts and burglary would cease. It is not too much to say that successful crime of this sort, at all events on any large scale, can seldom take place without the connivance of the *chowkidars*, and that its successful detection rests almost entirely with them. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of their honest co-operation with the regular police, and the helplessness of the latter without it.

While the *chowkidars* thus hold, as we may say, the criminal classes in their hands; while they are the most powerful agents at the disposal of Government in dealing with the sort of crime under discussion, they are at the same time almost entirely free from any proper supervision, and are by position, education and hereditary instinct on the side of predatory lawlessness rather than honesty and security to property. One of the most important parts of their duty, watch and ward, is performed at night when there is no one awake to see that they go about it conscientiously. They belong by caste to the criminal classes; they are often connected by close ties of relationship with actual criminals. They have a special interest in making use of this peculiar position; on the side of the law they are rather exposed to irresistible temptations to turn it to advantage in making their own terms with the thieves. They are too far removed from the influence and authority of the magistrate to look upon him

as the master it is for their own interest to serve best. Till within the last few years they were entirely dependent for their salary on the zemindar whose creature they consequently became. Recent legislation, which has made them look to the village *punchayat* for their pay, has merely brought about a change of authority from the hands of one power in the village to those of another, and has left them nearly as far removed as before from the influence of the magistrate. The better reform would have been to make the zemindar pay in the salary with his revenue, leaving him to collect it, as heretofore, from his ryots, and so to have kept the payment of the *chowkidars* entirely in the magistrate's hands. No reform in the *chowkidari* system will be effective unless it separates the interests of the *chowkidar* from the village authorities and makes him completely the servant of the district officer. Situated as they are, these men hold the reins that govern the course of crime in their hands. They should be made to feel their responsibility and taught to expect rewards for good conduct and service, and severe punishment for culpable or negligent performance of their duty. It would not be difficult to construct a district fund for rewarding *chowkidars* and providing small annuities for long and approved service. On the other hand the magistrate should have power to inflict summary punishment on *chowkidars* caught tripping. Once taught that condign punishment will follow any dereliction from the path of duty, and that on the other hand rewards and pensions will follow distinguished or long and meritorious service, the village *chowkidar* will become what he is in theory, and what no one else but he can be, the guardian of life and property in his village.

The present want of security of property among the cultivating and lower classes in this country is a matter which touches nearly the honour of Government; and the evil will have to be grappled with some day. The treatment and status of the village *chowkidar* is the foundation stone of any reform in this direction. The fact has long been recognized by our officials, but has never yet been successfully dealt with.

We have endeavoured to bring forward prominently a few of the more striking surroundings of the existence of a Behar ryot so far as they appear in public view, where he who runs may read. We would close them with an expression of regret that we cannot lift the curtain which conceals his private and domestic life, and that the customs and prejudices of his country debar those who have the responsibility for his welfare and happiness in their hands from that intimate acquaintance with his character as a private individual, which is so essential to a proper sympathy between rulers and ruled.

ART. IX.—THE PRIMITIVE RACES OF THE SHAHABAD PLATEAU.

“TO give a good account” wrote Mr. Beverley in his interesting chapter * on the castes of Behar “of the various aboriginal tribes of the Province, would fill a volume * * and I fancy much more might still be done, especially among the inhabitants of the Shahabad Plateau.” The same opinion is shared by almost every gentleman whose attention was ever directed towards the condition of these degraded people, including the late very able Commissioner of the Division, Mr. S. C. Bayley, C.S.I., whose sympathy for these humble tribes we notice with pleasure and to whose suggestion this paper owes its origin.

The extensive ridges of hills which direct the course of the Sone in South Behar, mark, indeed, an interesting ethnic border. The high table land of the Kaimur Range, with its peculiar labyrinthine glens and deep recesses on the North of the Sone, and its leafy forests on the lower slopes, has afforded shelter to a multitude of different tribes of the human race, whose distinctive features and habits mark them as so many fragments of a very ancient stock, representing the primitive children of the soil. Later Aryan immigrants have succeeded in engrafting on many of these tribes their own religious and tribal habits. But the philosophy of Goutama, or the humanity of Asoka, no more affected the mass of these aborigines, than the influence of Imperial Rome was felt by the barbarians of the Black Forest. Yet, barbarian is hardly the term to apply to every tribe of the aborigines. While some were savages, others pastoral, a few nomadic, a few still had settled into peaceful habitations, forming large villages, erecting temples, building forts, cutting stones for sculpture and planning and executing works of irrigation, to mark them as an industrious and an order loving race.

The tract included in the district of Shahabad appears to have been peculiarly adapted for the shelter of these timid aborigines. The broad Sone, the broader Ganges, the profane Karamnasa and the heights of the Kaimur Range, serving on all sides as so many barriers in the line of the Aryan conquest. The primitive forests of Buxar, Arrah and Sasseram, were the dreaded abodes of the gigantic Bakásara, the man-eating Hiramhá, and the thousand-handed demon Sahasra-Bahu. The plains and forests of Bhojpur, the uplands and knolls round Nokhá

* Bengal Census Report page 156.

and the plateaus of the Vindya Mali are still strewn with hamlets inhabited by the relics of different races,—the Sauris, Cheros, Bhars, Khairwars and the Mushahars, separated from each other by “wide intervals of growth and decay.”

Indeed the belt of country extending from the Chunar (Charanadri) Hills along the spurs of the Vyndia Mali, terminating with the knolls of Nokhá, North of Sasseram, appears to have been the high bank where successive waves of conquest and migration have spent their force and broken into peaceful settlements.

The Pauranic account of the origin of these primitive races, as given in the Srimad-Vagbut runs as follows:—“Raja Benas being tainted with sin (Rajasvalá), the Rishis, or saints, came to remonstrate with him. The Raja, with a wave of his hand, ordered the sages to be driven away. On this the great Rishi Angira denounced him with the curse that the hand by which the signal was given should be turned into a churning stick before the Raja was purged of his sin. The right hand of the Raja began to be churned immediately, and from the arm a man arose, dwarfish, black as the crow, with short arms and high cheek bones, small legs and flat nose, red eyes and copper-coloured hair. The new-born joined his hands and asked:—‘What shall I do?’ Brahma said—‘You are Nikshidya, the outcome of vice, your name will be Nikshad.’ Then the sages began to churn the left hand of the king for propitiation of his sin, and three more men, Mi-Thu-Na, came out of the arm. The first of these was Mushahantra (Mushahar), the second Kolla (Koles), the third Villa (Bheels). The sin of Raja Benas was thus purged out, and the gods and sages commenced a dance.” This anecdote, as relating to the sin Rajasvalá, refers probably to the fruits of an improper amour between the Aryan Raja and a nymph of the aboriginal race. Whatever may have been their origin, the Mushahars, the Koles, under different names, and the Bheels appear to have multiplied in large numbers, and inhabited the whole of the central mountainous tracts extending from the country of the Mahrattas on the one side to the hills of Shahabad on the other. The Bheels are unknown in the eastern districts. but the Mushahars and different tribes of the Koles are still remembered, or found actually inhabiting the plains and hills of Shahabad.

We commence with the Mushahars, for according to the Sanscrit text, they were the first-born of the dark races.

Mushahar is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanscrit word

* প্রথম মূলহস্তারং দ্বিতীয় কোল মেববচ ।

তৃতীয় ভিন্ন সংখ্যাতমিত্যেতে চউদাহত ॥

"Mushahanta," which signifies the Rat-killer. The people of this tribe have settled in hamlets in the plains and count about 10,117 persons. But generally they have no fixed houses and lead a nomadic life. Their principal occupation consists in digging up roots and herbs, collecting medicinal plants and selling them in the bazars. They also gather wax and honey and are known as a tribe who delight in the flesh of the rat.

The Mushahars have distinctive features. Their limbs are generally thin and long, lips and chin protruding, nose thick, mouth and eyes small, as is also the head, which slopes upward. The abdomen is rather large, and their fingers are flat and thick, owing to their constant occupation of digging the earth. They have a language of their own, but have no idea of a future state. The only object of their adoration is the *Birtia*, the ghost of their departed fathers, whom they invariably worship by offerings of cocks and swine for the purpose of averting the demon from the family. No idol is made, but a lump of clay is worshipped within their habitations as an object of private worship.

The Mushahars burn their dead and pray to the departed to bless the children, and the Kambhá, "the great instrument of digging," which helps the tribe to earn their bread.

Next to the Mushahars, the most numerous tribe of the aborigines in these parts is the *Bhars*. They are much fairer in complexion than any of the other races with which they were associated, and their type of countenance is decidedly Mongolian; prominently so by their flat heads and oblique eyes. Vestiges of this race, we are informed, are found in most districts of Northern India, extending from Gorukpore to Sagar, in the Central Provinces. "The present inhabitants of Azimghur have a tradition that their country in the time of Rama, with whose kingdom of Ajudya it was formerly connected, was occupied by Raj Bhars." Names of such districts as Bharaich in Oudh and Bhardolie in Mirzapur, refer no doubt to the original settlement of the Bhars; and traces of them are still to be found in every pargana along the Ganges and Jumna, where forts of vast size and tanks of great depth serve as memorials of the industry of the race. The tanks of the Bhars are distinguished from those of the Hindus as being "Suraj Bedi," or longest from east to west, instead of being "Chunder Bedi," longest from north to south.

Along the Vindya range the principal seat of the Bhars is met in the ruins of Pampapur, which must have lost its ancient name. "From its size and the substantial nature of the buildings, the city must have been of sufficient importance to be the capital of the country." It included within its limits the ancient town of Vyndiachal, famous as the shrine of the goddess Viudeshari.

In the district of Shahabad the Bhars have divided themselves into two distinct tribes. The more opulent of the family call themselves Raj-Bars ; although the zamindars of the hilly estate of Keondi in pargana Chynpur, who own the forts of Raghaburgurh and Shymalgurh on the northern slope of the Kaimur Range, affect to be Parihar Rajputs, and form unions by marriage with Khetri families. The poorer people of the tribes are scattered in villages along the foot of the Kaimur Range, and share altogether the fate of a conquered people and a detested race. Although numbering about 5,679 souls in Shahabad, they are entirely destitute of enterprise, and, being wholly under the influence of the Hindus, exhibit little tribal cohesiveness. They have forgotten entirely their ancient *esprit de corps*, which for a long time disputed the ingress of the Rajputs into the vast pargana of Chynpur, as yet sung in country ballads.

Chynpur Raj,
Half Bhar,
Half Sukarwar !

The Cheros form one of the most interesting remnants of an ancient stock. Tradition asserts that they were once the rulers of the country extending from Churanadri (Chunar) to Gridhaya Kot (Giridhi ?), and from the Ganges to the hills which now form the boundary of South Behar, including the entire extent of the country in the Patna division, South of the Ganges. The Cheros certainly formed an imperial class, and represented, it appears, an advanced tribe of the aboriginal people known under the generic name of the Koles. The name of the Kol Raj and Chero Raj are now indiscriminately applied by the natives of South Behar to the kingdom of the aborigines. "In general" Dr. Buchanan wrote in 1807 "they are considered the same people, and I am persuaded that this is the case ; for I am informed by Ram Sunder Mitter, a very intelligent Beugali, who long managed the province of Ramghur, where both people are still numerous, that they are, in fact, the same tribe." While the Koles, however, retained their impure habits, the Cheros yielded to the proselytising influence of Hinduism, united in marriage with the high caste Aryans, and formed a conquering class, the vestiges of whose greatness are uppermost in the old centres of civilization on both banks of the Sone in Rajgur, Budh Gya, as well as on the plateau around Fort Rhotas. The features of the present tribe of Cheros also approach the Aryan type of the neighbouring Hindu. Brahmins officiate at their ceremonies, and in their social associations they exhibit very little of a distinct religious or tribal habit. It is difficult to fix the period when the Chero-Raj flourished. The natives are entirely ignorant of it. Although the fact of the

entire extinction of the Sauris, while a few hundreds of Cheros are still found in the district, indicates a later existence for the latter tribe.

Regarding the origin of the Cheros there is another story told by Major Wilford. However slight may be its historic value, the story certainly indicates that the Cheros belonged to the same Ante-Aryan stock to which the origin of Raja Jarasindu is invariably attributed. According to this story, Yajati, an ancestor of Jarasindu, divided his empire among his five sons; and, in the tenth generation from Tarvasu, four brothers, Pandya, Kerola, Kola and Chola divided the country between them. Kola lived in the northern part of the peninsula, and his descendants * are called Koles, the more advanced tribe of which he supposes were the Cheros. The latter, it is said, adhered to the rules of Hindu purity, while the dregs or mass of the people (Koles) entirely rejected the doctrine of Goutama, as they do to this day that of the Brahmins. Major Wilford supposes, probably from the ruins of architecture attributed to the Cheros, that they adopted, like Asoka, the worship of Budha, but were subsequently converted to the orthodox faith, and on the failure of the direct line from Jarasindu, their prince, as a collateral branch of the same family, might have succeeded to the government of the Gangetic provinces, and may be the same with Sanaka, from whom the fourth prince was Ajaka, or Asoka. This story gains plausibility from the low birth of Chandragupta, the grand-father of Asoka,

Whatever might have been the origin of the Cheros and whatever their religion elsewhere, in Shahabad they appear principally as Sakti worshippers, and one of the principal centres of antiquarian interest in the Mundeswari hill is still attributed to a Chero Maharajah.

In the whole of the Shahabad district the Cheros now count 373 persons only. In the subdivision of Bhabua one family, consisting of a widow and her young son, inhabit a wood at the bottom of precipitous hills, and live in the utmost degradation, cutting wood and bamboos and grazing buffaloes. A few serve the Rajputs as day-labourers, although down to the period to which Dr. Buchanan's account of the district refers, each fraternity of Cheros continued to create a Raja by placing a mark (*Teka*) on the forehead. There is no room for doubt, however, that long after this branch of the Kolarian race ceased to be the paramount power in Magadh, the Cheros retained a minor principality among the mountain

* Dr. Buchanan (See *Eastern India*, Vol. II.) thinks it improbable that one prince. He believes, however, that the nation might have derived its name from a prince.

fastnesses of Shahabad. We have elsewhere* described the ruins of an interesting hill shrine which is said to have been a principal place of worship of the Chero Rajas. The goddess Mundeswari owes her name to the founder Munda, who is known to be a *dayuta*. This prince was one of the chief military officers of the great *dayutas*, Shambu and Nishambu, and is thus supposed to have flourished in that remote legendary age to which the exploits of Semiramis are ascribed in the annals of Indian warfare. The town where this prince lived is known as Gorhat, situated on the banks of a small stream in a valley close to Bhagavanpur, about seven miles south of Bhabuá. It is a rich country and has behind it the recess of the Mokhri *koh*, or glen, which, in times of war, would always afford shelter. This Munda chief had also another powerful brother, by name Chandu,† who reigned at Chaynpur, the true name of the place being Chandapur, derived from its *dayuta* founder.

The ruins of the stone temples on the Mundeswari hill and the fort in the Gorhat valley are the only relics which still mark the last splendour of the Chero Raj.

The remains of works and the memory of such names as Chanda and Munda tend to localise the residence of two important Puranic characters whose existence does not appear to have been merely legendary. Beneath the crust of mythology the story of the battle of Parvati, as the protector of the Aryan invader, with the *dayutas*, or the primeval princes of India, appears to have a foundation in fact.

The last vestige of the Chero Raj disappears with the name of Raja Fudi Chandra, who, according to an inscription obtained seventy years ago, reigned about the year 561 A. D.

A story is current and is supported by Dr. Oldham, that the Cheros were expelled from the district by the Harihobans. They had a dynasty on the banks of the Nurbudda, at Ratanpur, in Central India. The Harihobans pass for a tribe of Rajputs, but "of complexion so dark, and features so non-Aryan," that they are suspected to be really an aboriginal Tamil race. Chandra-Gati, a cadet of the Ratanpur house, in the year 906, Sambat, or 850 A. D., migrated northwards and settled at Manjho, on the Gogra, now

* The Kaimur Range: Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XLVI., Part I, 1877.

† Dr. Buchanan supposed that the Cheros belonged to the race of Asures (Assyrians) of whom Jarasindu was the most powerful prince. At any rate the Cheros must have flourished

long before the birth of Goutama or the Pandavas gained supremacy in India, and therefore 1004 B. C., when the third age (or *dwaparyug*), according to the system of chronology given by Mr. Bentley, must have ended.

included in the Sarun district. After a couple of hundred years his descendants settled south of the Ganges at Beehia, where they remained five centuries and subdued the Cheros. In or about the year 1584, Sambat, or 1528 A.D., their Raja violated Mahun, or Mahini, a daughter of the family priest of the clan. She burned herself to death, and in dying uttered the most fearful curses on the Harihobans' race. After this the clan left Beehia and passed beyond* the Ganges. This fact accounts for the absence of the tribe in the Shahabad District.

This account must refer to a later contest between the Harihobans and the remnants of the Cheros, who settled in or around Beehia after the sovereign princes of the latter had passed away. "The era of Bhoj," says Colonel Todd, "has been satisfactorily settled, and an inscription in the nail-headed character carries it back a step further." According to the account of Dr. Oldham the Harihobans must have come to Beehia about 1050 A. D. The era of Bhoj is fixed at 975 A. D., and as the Raja himself, or his immediate descendants, came and trampled out the Sauris from the Bhojpur pargana, the struggle between the latter and the Cheros for sovereignty must have taken place much earlier.

The traditions of the district speak of violent collision between the two races which terminated in the triumph of the Sauris. The reign of the Savara Rajas must have commenced after the time of the Chero chieftain, Fudi Chandra, (561 A. D.), and terminated with the arrival of Raja Bhoj's descendants in about 990 A. D. The remnants of their monuments go to confirm this conjecture. At Bydinath, in Thana Ramgurh, near the old bed of the Durgavati, there are considerable remains of buildings and obelisks. The place is known as the capital of the Sauri Raja, Madan Pál, and one of the obelisks found here by Dr. Buchanan bears the print of the Raja's name with the date 700. If the date of the inscription refers to the Sambat, Madan Pál, must have reigned about the year 643 A. D., and therefore the Chero Raj must have vanished much earlier than the approach of the Harihobans into the district. The tradition of the subjugation of the Cheros must therefore refer to a later struggle.

Of the Savaras we have little to narrate. As regards the district of Shahabad they are entirely an extinct race; hardly a single remnant of the people is now observed in the district. A few monuments in the south-west of the district, in the Ramgarh

* The tomb of Mahini, under a peepul tree, close to the railway at Beehia is still visited by women of every caste, who come in numbers either

to invoke her as a deified being, or to offer oblations. Nothing will induce the Harihobans to enter the village of Beehia.

and Chajnpur divisions are attributed to them. The memory of the Savara Raj still survives in the traditions of the Raj Kumars or Sakarwar Rajputs, who are said to have wrested the Chainpur pargana from them. In the centre of the district, and the Bhojpur division, was the kingdom of the Savaras, who were expelled either by Raja Bhoj in person, or by the Paramarko Rajputs of Dharnagar. But, these facts apart, their history is entirely involved in oblivion. Numbers of these people are met at the foot of the Darpan hills in the district of Katak, and further south the remnants of the race still contest the dominion of the hills with the fierce Khonds, or have their principal settlements on the mountainous back grounds skirting the Madras coast or the Chilka Lake.

At Darowli in Ramgarh and Serampur in Chand there are also old remains attributed to the Sauris. The latter place is said to have been the capital of one Nandi Raja of the * Savara tribe. The chief ruin is a mass of stones and bricks 780 feet from east to west and 1,080 from north to south. The ruin of Bydinath still marks the capital of their Raja Madan Pál. There are also obelisks in Bhabuá itself which, from their structure, we attribute to Savaras. The sides of these obelisks are generally divided into small squares, and the engravings on them leave little doubt that their constructors were Idolaters. There are some grotesque engravings on the remains, such as a butcher holding a boar by the tail in the attempt to decapitate its head; pedestrians holding up elephants by the fore-legs, and heads of buffaloes, or oxen, about to be severed by the *zá*, or cutter, indicating that they must have indulged in forbidden food.†

The Savaras reigned in the district until the time of Bhoj Raj. It is alleged that Ranedivar, a grandson of Bhoj Raj, got the pargana of Bhojpur as an appanage, and the Paramara Rajputs, aided by him, came and expelled the Savaras. The Paramarks were not, however, to enjoy long this newly acquired land. In the general confusion which soon attended the Mahomedan invasion, bands of Rajputs moved eastward in search of new habitations, and, in the general anarchy, another race of aborigines, the Bhars, came in, and expelled the Paramarks.

Side by side with the Cheros we find another interesting tribe holding the mountains of Shahabad as their peculiar heritage.

* The people are differently named. Babu Lachman Sinha of Chand calling them Suiria. Batu Ram Dhir Singha of Ramgarh, calling them Sairi or Soiri. Dr. Hunter identifies these people with the Suari of Pliny and Sabaræ of Ptolemy. Orissa Vol II. p 67.

† Some Sauris remain at Benaras and confirm the opinion of the Brahmins regarding their impurity by eating pork and taking strong liquors. Another tribe of the Sauris inhabit Central India. But these, we understand, resemble the Gypsies.

The Kharwars at present count about six thousand men, and it is with these that we propose chiefly to deal. Notwithstanding the proselytising influence of the conquering Hindu, these aborigines yet retain a distinct social and religious organization. The fabric is certainly on the decline, but it is therefore the more urgent that some impressions should be obtained before the last outlines entirely fade away.

The Kharwar has no written language, no annals, no idea of chronology; and the few anecdotes that we have been able to gather have been taken from the mouths of one or two of their old clansmen.

Of the several old races * that we met with on the plateau, the Kharwar is the darkest. The men of higher rank, who, we suspect, are not without an admixture of Aryan blood, have their features somewhat changed, but we have seen men of the tribe whose traits are typical of the race. The hair of the Kharwar is black and straight. The form of the face is more oval, and the nose and lips are thinner, than is the case with the other hill-men, the Chero, who has more regular features, alone excepted. There is nothing peculiar in the skull, but a slight depression from the extremities of the eyes, carried downwards, gives a height to the cheeks, and a protrusion, but closeness, to the lips, imparting an expression of shyness for which the Kharwar is too well noted. The chest is rather narrow, the abdomen large; the limbs are long and flat; the gait erect, but both fingers and toes are disproportionately heavy.

The Kharwars have a tradition that their original seat was Khyara-garh; that they migrated to the south, fought with, and defeated the Cheros and Agorias, or the iron-smelters of the hills, and occupied the heights of the Kaimur Range. They state that they migrated of their own free will and settled at Adhowra, which is still an important Kharwar hamlet. With the weakness peculiar to all conquered races, the well-to-do Kharwars aspire to be caste-brethren of the Rajputs, and call themselves Suraj-Bansis.

Another sept of the Kharwars, of the Som Gotra, has a tradition that there remained a family of brothers in the far south, across the Sone. The eldest proving oppressive, the younger-brothers with their mother migrated and settled at Bhurkuá, on the plateau which is still the head-quarters of their tribal head.

* The Paháriás of Rajmehal have a story of the creation in which they give the Kharwars a name among the primitive tribes created. The

Hill-men of Rajmehal, by Lieutenant T. Shaw: Asiatic Researches, Vol IV., p. 33.

In both cases the emigrants found refuge on the highlands of Bihar and both legends point to the fact that the wave of migration rolled from the north as well as from the south.

The Kharwars are thus at present divided into two principal Gotras or septes; those coming from the north calling themselves Kassi Gotras, and those from the south calling themselves Som Gotras, in imitation of the two principal races of India. The head of the tribe, as well as his well-to-do relatives, wear the *janeo*, or sacred cord, decorate themselves with the garments of the noble Khetris, affix *Sinua* to their names and make strenuous, although futile efforts to be known as members of the Solar race. The others are known as *manjhis*, *mahotas*, *bhuktas* and *khants*. Except among members of the Som Gotra, intermarriage with the others is not prohibited; and the different classes of the people do not therefore reckon as so many castes but social sections only.

Although split into two sections and five different classes, they all enjoy equal position and social privileges, and are under the protection of one paternal head. The government of the entire tribe rests in the Raja or chowdry of Bhurkurá. The Raja was the supreme proprietor of the table-land and mountain cliffs. He was the chief authority in criminal and civil disputes, as he is still the great arbiter in all social and religious matters. In the trial of criminal or social wrongs the tribal, with the village head, acts as a committee, fines the wrong-doer or orders him to be bastinadoed, and in cases of petty misdemeanour, extra the penalty of a *khasi*, or kid, only. He is also the high priest of *Guptesvara*, the great national god of the aborigines. But although the preserver of order and the arbitrator of wrongs, this great federal chief never interfered in the management of village affairs. The *mahto* is the respected head of the village community, as the Raja is of the tribe. The *mahto*, as a representative man, is also known as the *mukhya*, or the mouth-piece, of the village. In all social matters he is the great mediator. He distributes the incidence of rent among the villagers, collects the amount from his village men and pays it to the great landlord, the tribal head, and is thus responsible for the entire rental of the village. No improvement can be undertaken in the village which the *mahto* does not initiate. It is his duty to collect subscriptions, report social offences to the tribal head, and he is in fact the village patriarch, whose word is invariably respected.

He also receives travellers into the village, feeds them and looks to their comfort, and for the conduct of this portion of his work he receives *the nuyai*, or the *Mahatain*. The

Mahatañ is an equitable contribution of sheafs at the harvest time from the ryots, to enable the mahto to accommodate *paons* or guests *; an instance of primitive virtue which more civilised nations might well imitate.

As a collector of revenue, the mahto enjoys the *jagir* of one *jiban* of land only, and gets a small gratification from each ryot for recommending, at the conclusion of each term of settlement, no enhancement. One of the marks of respect shown to the mahto is peculiar to an agricultural race; no plough in the village would be driven until the mahto's soil has been turned up.

The place of the mahto is hereditary. When a son or heir is left a minor, a relative, or a guardian, or *karina mulajim* (agent) does the work for him; the heir retaining the *pagri* or insignia of office. Next to the mukhya, the Byigá forms the most important element in the social structure of the Kharwar community. The Byigá is the great spiritual, as the Mahto is the temporal, head of the village. Timid, superstitious, and haunted by eternal dread of evil, the Kharwar is ever in want of some superhuman prop and spiritual solace. The services of the Byigá are thus constantly in demand for propitiating the gods, the demons and the spirits of the dead at the commencement of each agricultural operation, as well as at each incident of life, birth, marriage or death. At the sowing season the services of the Byigá are required to cast seed in the nursery and to worship the *dharti*, or the great earth god. Ploughing cannot commence until the Byigá has appeased the earth, and at the harvest season reaping cannot go on until the Byigá has with his own hands cut the first blades from each ryot's field. When the crops are gathered and threshed, the services of the Byigá are in demand again. He must make the offering of clarified butter (*ghee*), cakes, rice and flour. Nor do his services go unrewarded. At the sowing season he receives five *auchla* of grain from each ryot, each *auchla* being as much as can be raised with both hands joined. At the reaping season the first five blades or bundles cut are the Byigá's share, and, when the grain is threshed, he is allowed to take a *kahrwa*, or trayful, † before the division of the crop commences. At the time of a marriage the Byigá's wife must get a new cloth before he will think of uniting the couple. Woe to the community and ruin to the village when the Byigá gets out of temper. Quarrels with the landlord and the *muhajan*, deficit of crop, emptiness of granary, outbreak of disease,

* This contribution of the village men is the secret of that "facility with which a chance traveller" can get, among the aborigines, "food, guides, means transport, in short everything, by a word, from the headman."

† This is the tray of bamboo for winnowing corn or (*kula*)

breaking of the arm or leg are not far to follow his dissatisfaction. The demon may plunge into the house, the tiger may devour the village men and blight may destroy the crops. The Byigá's services are thus constantly invoked, and he is required to perform so many ceremonies that, as was humorously observed to us, his sacrificial knife never gets dry of the blood of the cock or the goat.

The last item in the village official stratum is the hankóá-pár. He is none but the village chowkedar of the plains, who is required to keep the village watch and assist the other village officers in collecting rent for the magnificent *jagir* of one-fourth of a *jiban* (or 1 beega) of land. He gets, however, four measures (*pasewris*), or twenty seers, of unthreshed grain from each respectable ryot at the harvest time. The houses of the Kharwars are mere huts. The walls are made of logs of wood with thatches of straw. Hurdles serve for doors and planks. Back doors are kept towards the woods, for a timid people must have their way to escape from the clutches of the money-lender, the foot-men of the landholders or the intrusion of the chance traveller when the host cannot conveniently oblige him with an evening meal.

In spite of incessant toil in the fields and skill in raising superior crops little of the produce is left to the Kharwar after adjustment of the *mahajan's* accounts. As long as the crops remain in the threshing yard, *i.e.*, for one month out of twelve the Kharwars have a rich store to feast upon. For two meals he takes four, or as many as he can at harvest time, but once the crops are divided between the landlord and the money-lender, the Kharwar has only the inferior millets, or the wealth of his jungle, to fall back upon. Generally his food consists of wild fruits. The *chironji* and the *keond* he relishes much. The *dhunia* and *shamain* (small millets) serve for his rice. A wild rank vegetable, *koilar* serves for his cabbage during the months of rain, while the *mohua*, boiled in water with little or no salt, is his evening gruel.

The Kharwars do not appear to indulge in strong drink. Their poverty has probably much to do with their temperance. Not a drop of the spirits distilled at the still in the plains is ever taken to the Kharwar villages on the hills. They depend in part on the cheap out-still produce on the borders of Mirzapur, or their own home-brewed beer; but at no season do they drink to such an extent "as to cause long sustained inebriation among the mass of the people for days, even for weeks," as in the case of the Sonthals. We remember with pleasure the dignified way in which a few Kharwars rejected the offer of a small sum proposed to them for a peg after a meal. But although not indulging in wine, the Kharwars have another vice to answer

for,—habitual chewing of tobacco, with lime, and smoking of *ganja*.

The villages of the Kharwars hardly count each more than a dozen huts, and are separated from one another by cliffs or a dip in the mountain chain. Within these huts live the families of the most timid, suspicious, shy, yet a contented and order-loving, race.

The family consists of the wife and children, and some times of the son-in-law, who regard the father as the respected patriarch. Every morning the younger members approach and touch with respect the knees of the patriarch, who repeats the benediction, "*Jio*," "Live," to each. The same custom is observed when the young men serve the old with tobacco and hand over the pipe, or meet an elder relative on the way—a simple law among a simple people, which may serve as a matter of reflection to the young men of more civilized communities.

The father of the family has, in return, to look to the training of the children, and to see them suitably married.

In the matter of inheritance we suspect the Kharwars adopt their own primitive law. It agrees with the practice of the Bengalees, but differs from that of the Aryans, with whom they are immediately associated. Sisters get no shares, but the brothers get equal portions of the property of deceased parents.

Among the females the position of the mother, of course, is superior, and she is relieved of all household cares, notably cooking, when the grown-up daughters can help her. The female members of the family do not dine with the males, but the women are not held in degradation. The wife is invariably treated with respect. The husband would engage in no pursuit alone in which the wife would be his fit companion. In all agricultural operations the wife invariably follows the husband, and the latter would not even during the nights keep watch in the fields without the wife. Among relatives and inmates of the same family the conversation between the male and female members, is free; but among strangers the women are not admitted, and therefore do not display that candour and ease of manners which in the case of the Sonthal nymphs evoked the praise of the annalist of Rural Bengal.

The Kharwar considers himself above those low-castes among whom widow-marriage is tolerated; but adultery on the part of wives is treated with greater leniency. The woman may be taken back after penance, but if she once leaves the house, or protection, of her natural guardian, she cannot be re-admitted.

Amusing stories were told us of the hospitality of the Kharwar. When able to afford it, he is only too ready to come forward and receive his guest, and feast him with the best of his

store. But when out of pocket and stock, he marks the approach of a traveller with fear, escapes to the neighbouring woods to hide the shame of his poverty, and leaves his guest to seek refuge elsewhere. After his contribution to the village fund, it would be hard, however, to expect more charity from the Kharwar.

The Kharwars observe the incidents of life, birth, marriage and death, with due ceremony. The purification after birth commences on the *chatt* or sixth day, when both the *chinari* (mother) and child are bathed. The same ablution is repeated on the twelfth day, and during the interval singing and great rejoicing amuse the family circle. The amusement ends with a feast. Impurity, however, attaches to the new-born child for two and half months in the case of a son, and three months in that of a girl. The wife and the child are admitted to the bed of the husband after that period only. No worship takes place, as with the Hindus, on the 21st day after birth. In imitation of the latter the Kharwar, however, names his child in the sixth month, gives a general feast, and for the first time the child is then fed by either the father, the grand-father or the maternal uncle.

Marriage is the most important and expensive ceremony of the Kharwars. It consists, in fact, of two ceremonies, the betrothal and the union with the bride. The proposal of marriage is started by the despatch of a messenger by the bride's father, with a present of 16 annas, or one rupee, to the bridegroom, the father himself at times being his own messenger. The messenger with his suit is received with due respect, and the sacrifice of a goat, soon after his arrival, marks the honor of his reception. Feasting commences and lasts for two or three days, during which the parties have ample time to take note of mutual hospitality and gentleness. If both are pleased, the union is well nigh sure to take place.

The bridegroom's father in his turn goes to the bride and gives her usually the valuable present of five rupees. When the preliminaries are thus settled, the bride's father sends word to the bridegroom's to fix the (*lagan*), or the day of marriage. Before that great day, however, another ceremony has to be gone through. A gay party starts in the evening and stops for the night at the bride's place. Next morning the village barber is called in, and he paints a square on the ground with rice flour. The bride, duly attired, is made to sit on this square in front of a vessel full of water. The priest, a Brahmin (for he has not been slow to lend his services to the aborigines), at times officiates.

The bride's father and the bridegroom's representative take a handful of turmeric and grain and make them over to the Brahmin. The latter mixes them up, touches the vessel, and re-

turns a handful to the representatives of both the parties, who then embrace each other, and in so doing solemnly ratify the match, and address each other as *johar*, or the "relatives united;" a yellow thread is at the same time tied round the left wrist of the bride. The party then retires. The next morning the bridegroom takes his seat on a similar painted floor, and, with all due formality, an earthen vessel, filled with grain and the turmeric brought from the bride's, is placed before him. The bridegroom makes obeisance to this vessel, which is preserved. The match thus settled, preparations commence for the merry nuptials.

On the approach of the marriage night there is a procession, consisting of the relatives, the friends and the well-wishers of the bridegroom who bathes, and the water which he uses for the purpose of ablution, is preserved in a separate vessel. The grain used on the day of the betrothal is also fried and tied in a napkin and is taken with the dress, ornaments, sweets and other presents for the bride.

The procession then moves on until it reaches the door of the bride's house. Here the fathers come out to receive and salute. The salutation and music being over, the procession breaks up, and the members retire to the nearest grove for a time for refreshment. When it is night and close to the appointed hour, the *madal*, or native drum, commences to play, the procession is formed again and marches by torch light. At the *maroi*, or nuptial temple, the procession stops. This temple is merely an open thatch, resting on posts, with a raised earthen platform in the middle. On this platform, which serves as the hymeneal altar, the symbolic emblems of procreation, a branch of the *sidya* wood, a fresh bamboo, and the pole taken from a plough, are set up as the central points. As the men surround the altar, the *Byiga* commences his craft. He is solicited to mark the bamboo; but he heeds not in spite of begging and entreaty, and assumes all the priestly importance possible.

The proceedings come to a stand until the *Byiga* submits to the softening influence of money. A bargain is struck, and the offer of a present of a new *sári* to his consort cheers him up. The *Byiga* gets up and heads the procession, which marches and escorts the bride to the *maroi*.

The first step in the ceremony of marriage is taken by the *Byiga*, who marks with vermilion and *ghee* the centre bamboo post, while the female inmates of the house chaunt the songs suited to the occasion. The pair then sit close to the pole and play a game with cowries, during which each tears away the yellow thread from the wrist of the other. The bride's father then takes a few sheaves of the *kusa* grass, a broad leaf of the sacred *pepul*, over which he places the hand of the bride and offers her to the groom. The

groom bends and accepts the offer by marking the bride's forehead with a drop of vermilion, and then the maid becomes a wife.

A cloth is then held round the pair, and from above fried grain is dropped down upon their heads. The cloth is then withdrawn and the pair are taken to the decorated room (*kohobar*) to pass the festive night.

The story of the last ceremony, that of death, alone now remains to be told. Immediately after demise the deceased is removed to the village *Smashan* (place of cremation) and is anointed with *ghee* and oil, clothed in a new girdle, and shrouded with a new cloth. The nearest of kin, after the corpse is placed on the funeral pile, lights straw and ignites it; barley, *ghee*, incense and sesamum are then thrown over the pile. The party soon after retire, but return again to the funeral pile the next morning, or twelve hours later, burn what remains of it and take a few pieces of the bone and bury them near the pile. The pile is then washed, and a little milk and paddy are thrown over it.

Impurity attaches to the family for ten days after the performance of the funeral obsequies and the deceased is commanded to go to the Ganges, and the "devil of the departed" is thus exterminated. For his final purification, however, the survivor has another ceremony to perform. On a certain day of the month of Kartic, he exhumes the bones and sets out for the nearest point of the Durgavati, or the Ganges, * both regarded by the Kharwar as sacred streams. The Kharwar takes the bones in his hands, goes deep into the water, dives down with them, and, as he dives, dips them deep into earth in the bed of the river. By this act the Kharwar thinks that he helps the departed soul to reach the temple of Devas. The greatest care is thus taken to prevent the departed turning into an evil spirit after death, and roaming the earth in search of mischief, in spreading disease among men and cattle, and tempest and blights upon the crop-yielding earth.

RELIGION.

The religion of the Kharwars is the development of a conquered race dwelling amidst the wildest and most dreaded phenomena of

* The Ganges is held so sacred by so many tribes of the aborigines and the custom of throwing the bones of the dead into the river is observed by such a variety of the primitive Indian races, that we are led to suspect that its worship was established long before the Aryan conquerors came to

India. Dr. Oldham gives the following anecdote of a Sairi girl. "She had carried his (*i. e.*, her husband's) remains about with her for hundreds of miles in order that the might throw them into the sacred water of the Ganges."—*Memoirs of Ghasipur*.

nature and living purely by agriculture. Of the beneficent powers he has nothing greater to worship than the great *dharti* or the earth god. The all-producing earth, which amidst the most adverse circumstances yields him the harvest of grain and fruit, supplies the material for his beverage, affords him wood for heat and shelter, and a plentiful store of leaves for furniture and toilette, is the great object to which his devotion tends. At the sowing, transplantation and harvest season, the crop-yielding power of the earth is formally worshipped, and she is appeased with the innocent offerings of wheat and molasses. When the harvest is gathered home, the worship of the *dharti* is observed with great festivity. Rejoicings follow, and in the name of the goddess the Kharwars continue to take, as we have observed, three meals instead of one, until they end through the exactions of the rent collector and the money-lender, in chronic poverty.

The Raj Ban is another deity who protects the waters of the reservoirs. The bund or the high embaukment is his shrine. When it has been repaired after heavy showers, the Raj Ban is worshipped on the crests of high banks and is appeased with cocks and goats to keep the works strong.

The great autumnal festival of the hill-men is the worship of their national holy tree the sacred *karm*. Commenced early in the bright portion of the month of Bhadro, it continues for fifteen days. It marks the gladness with which people wind up their agricultural operations all over the world. The festivities begin with a fast during the day. In the evening the young men of the village only proceed in a gay circle to the forest. A leafy branch of the *karm* is selected, cut and daubed with red lead and *ghee*. Brought in due state, it is planted in the yard in front of the house and is decorated with wreaths of wild flowers, such as autumn yields to the hill-men with a bountiful hand. The homely ritual of the Kharwar then follows and is finished with the offer of corn and *goor* (molasses). The worship over, the head of the village community serves the men with a suitable feast. But the great rejoicing of the season is reserved for a later hour. After dinner, the men and women appear in their gala dress and range themselves in two opposite rows. The *mdal*, or national drum of the aborigines, is then struck, and the dance commences by a movement forward until the men and women draw close. Once face to face, a gradual movement towards the right is commenced, and the men and women advance in a slow but merry circle which takes about an hour to describe. Under the influence of the example of the Hindus, the practice of a national dance in which the women take a prominent part is already on the decline. When indulged in it, is done with an amount of

privacy, closed to the public, but open to the members of the race only.

It is difficult, however, to explain why the *karm* tree should be so greatly adored by the Kharwars. It is an insignificant tree with small leaves, which hardly affords shelter or shade, and possesses no title to be considered superior to others of his native forest. Nor in the religious belief of the Kharwar have we been able to trace any classic tale connected with the growth of the *karm* grove, similar to that of the peaceful olive of old, or the aromatic laurel. One important, although the last, incident of the *karm* worship, is the appearance of the demon to the Kharwar village men. Generally at the conclusion of the village dance the demon takes possession of a Kharwar, who commences to talk, tremble and jump, and ultimately climbs up the branch of the *karm*, and begin to eat the leaves. Consultation about the fortunes of the year or individuals then takes place, and when the demon has foretold them, the festivities are concluded.

Among a people of such primitive habits as the Kharwar, the mischievous faith in witchcraft and demons, forms the very backbone of their system of superstitious beliefs. Great power is attributed to the demon. Disease, pestilence, storms, blights, in short all abnormal phenomena, are the works of the evil spirit. The Kharwar has accordingly no faith in the efficacy of drugs; medicine is almost unknown to him. When a Kharwar falls ill, as many *ojhas* or necromancers are invited as can be gathered from the neighbourhood. At the bed side of the patient a lamp or the native *chirag* is lighted. The necromancers gather round it, and, placing a handful of barley on the floor touch the grain with the tips of the fingers, as if in the act of counting. On a sudden one wise doctor cries out the name of the village and the demon that is in it; incantation then commences and the devil is either scared away, or, if too powerful, appeased with the promise of a tempting *puja*, or offer of a sacrifice. Among the Kharwar hamlets chance thus acts the part of the hospital, the medical halls, and druggists, nor can chance be condemned when the want of some thing superior is hardly felt. To the skill of the *ojha* the Kharwar has, however, less reason to be thankful than to the salubrity of his native hills.

To the Kharwar, equally with all other aboriginal people, the great seat of pilgrimage is the awful cave of Gupteshwar. Situated among the wildest and grandest phenomena, the shrine is adored by the sage Hindu equally with the savage hill-man. Leaving the open country near Chunár, the traveller descends slowly into deep ravines, or plods his way over rough paths, lying through dense forests and among giant hills, until he reaches the course

of the Durgavati. From this point his progress becomes easy and pleasant. For miles the path stretches along a narrow glen hardly four hundred yards broad, walled on either side by the high, unbroken, but winding cliff of the Kairmali Range. The valley beneath is the bed of the infant Durgavati, and along its banks and sometimes over its bed the pilgrim, staff in hand, and with a vessel of the sacred water of the Ganges on his head, pursues his onward way. The shrine is visited all the year round. But the greatest festivities are observed in the month of *Falgun* during the *Siva Râtri* holidays. For a fortnight the wild face of the forest is cheered up. The darkness of the solitary glen is broken by strings of lamps and clusters of flame. Torches are lighted in the dark, winding cave, and streams of pilgrims, Cheros, Kharwars, Bhars, Rajputs, Brahmins and Kaiths, descendants of different races and believers in different faiths, wend their way into the sacred valley, unmindful alike of the winter air and the wild denizens of the forest. Aryan and aboriginal blend here in holy union and offer oblations in common under the supervision of a priest of the Kharwar sept.

The shrine itself is situated in a wonderful cave, whose length in all its windings and branches remains yet to be explored. Superstition regards this cave as the opening of a subterranean passage which extends to the foot of the temple at Puri. We go straight for 150 yards through a dark passage, where the rays of torches impart but a faint glimmer. An aperture in this wall brings us to the passage of the shrine itself, slippery slabs and rough boulders enhancing the difficulty of the pilgrim's progress, while, the water dripping from the roof moistens the skin.

The Gupteshwar is a big upright stone. The head is capped with horns and knobs, smoothed by the constant fall of water-drops from the roof of the cavern. To the Kharwar, Gupteshwar is the great creator who made the world out of nothing. To the Aryan, he is the mighty Rudra of the Vedas, and each has his own anecdote of the way in which the worship of the god was established in the secluded valley. At any rate the shrine of Gupteshwar affords a living instance of that compromise of religion to which the skilful Brahmin submitted when failing to effect the entire abolition of an adverse faith. It also illustrates the theory very fully that Siva represent some deity of the aborigines whom the Aryan found it to his advantage to identify with the Rudra of the Hindu Pantheon.

The Brahmin has not yet succeeded, as elsewhere, in wresting the shrine from the hands of the aborigines. The priest is a Kharwar. The pilgrims consist of Brahmins and other high caste Aryans.

The story of the Kharwar regarding the establishment of the worship is a simple one. That of the inventive Brahmin, elaborate.

According to the Kharwars, in times of old Gupteshwar lay concealed in the cave, the approach to which was unknown. The sound of heavenly music, however, charmed every night the ears of the shepherds who reared buffaloes in the adjacent jungle. The shepherds reported this to the Kharwar chief, Sew Sinha, who lived on the top of the plateau, at Bhar Kurâ. Sew Sinha came to the vale beneath and fasted for nights, hearing the music and imploring the deity to bless his tribe. The deity heard his prayer, appeared to him in a dream, and ordered him to cut open a passage and establish the worship of Gupta Baba.

Sew Sinha is said to have been taken to the heart of the cave and shown the paradise of Siva, laid out in pleasant gardens and abounding in flowers and honey. His descendant, Ram Saran, still owns the shrine. Although swayed by the influence of conquest, he affixes Sinha to his name and puts on the sacred thread in imitation of the high caste Brahmin, he still, however, calls himself a Kharwar Rajput—a perfect illustration of the compromising spirit of Hinduism and “the process of manufacturing Rajputs from ambitious aborigines.”

The Brahminical story of the appearance of Gupteshwar is as we have said, more elaborate.

* “Brikasur, son of Sukun Kakshas, asked Nârada, of the “three gods, Brahma Vishnu and Maheshwar, who can be the most easily satisfied?” The reply was “Maha Deva”. Brikasur accordingly repaired to the woods and passed a term of ten thousand years in praying and propitiating Siva. Siva was satisfied and, in company with Parvati, came and commanded the Asur to ask what (*bar*) benediction he liked. The Asur was overjoyed and asked the one *bar*, “Let him die whose head I may touch.” Siva granted his prayer, and the Asur, charmed with the graces of Gauri, stretched his hands to touch Siva’s own head in order to put the benediction to the test. Mahadeo got terrified, commenced running and went to Brahma. Brahma said “I am powerless.” Mahâdeo then repaired to Kailâs. Pursued by the Asur, he left Kailâs and proceeded southward to the mansion of Vishnu (Baikunto). Narayan assumed the guise of a student with the sacred thread on his breast, and stood before the Asur as he was pursuing Siva. Brikasur saw the Brahmin lad and bowed before him. The lad said: You look fatigued. Whence are you?” The Asur re-told his story. Narayan smiled and said, “Do you believe in Siva? The curse of Dakhsa has turned him into a goblin. You, the (Indra) chief of Asurs, should not be imposed upon by Siva’s words. Why don’t you see the blessing to be false by touching your own head”. The Asur got confused and touched his own head. A flame rising from his hairs reduced him to

vashma (ashes) and he was thus named Vashmasur. The scene of this story is engrafted on the Gupta caves as affording a fitting place for the flight and concealment of Siva. A huge and lofty block at the approach to the shrine is pointed out as the remains of the burnt Asur. It is a mighty obelisk and, situated within a dark narrow pathway, is viewed with wonder by the wise equally with the ignorant.

Timid as the Kharwar has been, and strong as his love of seclusion, it would be idle to maintain that his social or religious fabric still stands entire. Love of profit and reputation, if not a desire to gain new privileges, has induced him to count himself as a separate caste only of the Hindu fraternity. The ambitious chief of the tribe calls himself a Suraj Bansi. The well-to-do mahato calls himself a chowdry. The Brahmin, who has volunteered his spiritual services, has taught the Kharwar to think that each sept of the tribe—the Mauji, the Bhoketa and the Kauit are separate castes only. He has no other account of the creation than what has been distorted from the Vedas; no other idea of heaven or hell, of future reward or punishment, than what has been engrafted on his religious system by the more knowing Brahmin. His sense of social equality, as illustrated by free intermarriage among members of different clans, is strong.

In social bearings the Kharwar has very naturally imitated the manners of the more advanced lowlanders. The *pagri* and skull-cap are considered by him an indispensable appendage to his toilette. He has commenced to bore his ears, and from a collection of utensils, furniture and ornaments, that we made, it was observed that the aboriginal men and women had borrowed a good many from the Aryan. At the same time, along with the substantial fruits of his industry, the Kharwar has succeeded in imparting a good deal of his superstition to the latter. The demon and the witch are the common object of dread and propitiation among the highland aborigines and the lowland Aryans in the plains of Bihar.

To the native industry of the Kharwar we intend to make a more than passing allusion. Fond as the Kharwar is of sport, the want of arms is felt by him with deep regret. He had never had arrows or bows. But with spears, swords, battle-axe and long match-locks he commenced his hunt in spring and continued it through summer until the heavy rains drove the game to the dense woods. At the time of the mutiny the innocent Kharwar was classified with the blood-thirsty sepoy, and the disarming Act deprived him of the only source of amusement and gain that he could enjoy in his seclusion. But it was not from the hands of Government alone that he suffered. The mutineers under Koer Sinha plundered

the Kharwar villages, took away their store of grain, and robbed many a poor hill-man of his future livelihood by depriving him of his arms. Our informant dolefully remarked "Was there time to resist? We were in our fields, man and wife, pursuing our peaceful tillage when the Rajputs broke in suddenly upon our villages and did this work of mischief." The Kharwar has also left off fighting with deadly weapons,—the lathee and the axe being the only instruments used by him, more for display than offence. Sport being now on the decay, the Kharwar is pre-eminently an agricultural tribe. As the earliest settler on the plateau, he considers himself the real proprietor of all the lands he tills. The mode of tillage pursued is interesting. His agricultural operations commence and end with the worship of the crop-yielding earth, the great *dharti*. In the months of Bysack and Jyte (April and June) such woods, the ashes of which are known to yield good manure, are cut and collected by the village-men, each contributing his labour according to the extent of his tenure. The wood is set fire to and reduced to ashes. When the embers are extinguished, the *dharti* is worshipped on the spot and the ashes are spread on the fields. The place where the pile is burnt is ploughed first. Seed is sown broad-cast and it is turned into the village nursery. When the young plants are ready to be transplanted, the same deity is again invoked. Later in the season, before the sickle is applied to the plants, the first presents are offered to the Byigá, or village priest, who cuts a sheaf from each field and worships the powers to whom the fertility of the plains is owing. Similar rites, accompanied with homely joys, are observed before the treasures of the fields are stored.

The skill of the Kharwar in husbandry is well-known. He has a name for every operation from sowing to reaping, and for the growth and use of the grain at every stage. Although himself living on coarse food, he supplies the tables of the luxurious with fine flour and rice of the best flavour. He raises on the top of the hills *jinora*, or the smaller maize, the pulses, *vedi*, and *kurthi bodi*, a sort of millet (*milkhini*), wheat, barley, grain and one of the best sorts of *dhan* in the upland country. In return for these grains the hill-men get salt, molasses, clothes, spices, including turmeric, *dhania*, betel and betel-nuts from the plains, which are also bartered for the *mohua* and other forest produce.

Unlike the Sonthal or the Khond, the Kharwar does not depend much on the craft of an alien people living beyond his village entity. A sept of his own are his blacksmiths, who not only extract and roast the ore, but prepare his instruments of husbandry. The treasure of his forest gives him green leaves throughout the year, which he has ingenuity enough to turn to a multitude

of uses. His platters and cups are made of the mohulain leaf. With elastic twig ribs as the frame-work, he sews big green jugs, lined with ever-green leaves, to hold his grain and seed. With leaves also he plaits soft parasols to protect his head and body from the sun and rain during his field-labors in summer and autumn. But for anything beyond agricultural operations he looks for help to the art of the more civilised people in the plains.

The land-tenure of the hills is an economic anomaly. Five-eighths of the cultivable area on the summit lies fallow. Yet the soil is rich. The existing tenures are large. So is the land measure. The *jiban*, or standard measure, on the table-land is four times the extent of the ordinary beegah. The highest rate of rent is Rs. 1-4 for an ordinary beegah of the plains; yet his indebtedness makes the Kharwar husbandman not only a tenant but a serf of his landlord. The Kharwars know themselves to be the original settlers on the table-land who reclaimed the waste. They believe themselves to be the proprietors, subject to the payment of rent and allegiance to the tribal head. The rent of their tenures is for the most part nominally settled in cash. But the present race of landlords, who have purchased the rights of the tribal head, generally settle their accounts when the crops are gathered into the threshing yard, and sometimes take away the last blade that is reaped, driving the tillers to the resources of the jungles. Indeed, to such helplessness is the Kharwar driven after the harvest season, that when the fruits of his natives forest fail, he sits *dharna* with the members of his family at the door of his *mahajun*. The latter in most such instances is found pliable enough to give another advance. In many cases also the *mahajun* supplies his tenant not only with the cattle, the instruments of husbandry and seed-grain, but even with grain for food, to carry on tillage in autumn, to be repaid with interest at the harvest time in winter. The hill-man, who is generally indifferent, feels all this oppression with keenness, although he suffers it in silence. Old Chitthi Manji, habitually shy and timid, grew warm and loquacious, when he talked with us of his land and rent, and challenged proof that any other but his own fathers were the proprietors of the soil. What availed it, however, to his poor tribe, when the landlord was ever ready to enhance rent and oust them. A determined resistance he never contemplates. To seek labour beyond his native hills is an alternative which he dreads, for the hills bound his vision. The virgin soil awaits his labour to yield really a crop in other parts of the plateau, but he is reluctant to leave his old tenement and knows the struggles incident to a new hamlet. A separate village guild must be

formed to throw up embankments, dig wells and prepare fields; the appliances of tillage would be again necessary; in short, he must look to another moneyed head, and the change he suspects, would hardly be happier.

The poverty of his Raja, or tribal head, is another subject of regret to the Kharwar. The rights of the Kharwars never engaged the attention of the early British officers. The tenure was never recorded. The Raja was taken for granted as an ordinary rent collector and was classified with the hundreds of zemindars with whom the Permanent Settlement was effected. The simple people of the hills were thus subjected to all the complicated procedure of law, and the elaborate processes of administration applicable to a more civilised state of society. This anomaly could not work well. A legacy of litigation and agrarian discontent followed. The Raja fell into arrears. To pay these the old tale was repeated. He ran into debt, took loans, played the game of double mortgages, until he is a pauper and an utter bankrupt, entirely at the mercy of Rajput landlords and Saho bankers of the plains. Living amidst his own mountain fastnesses, he does not understand the dignity of law or the action of the civil court menials who attach the crops raised by the labours of his own retainers. At times he therefore asserts his dignity by quietly cutting and removing standing crops under distraint, and securing them in the density of some unknown jungle. To this plight have civilised modes of justice driven the simple foresters of Shahabad. They want sadly that power of organisation, or spirit of restlessness, which has secured the appointment of a special commissioner and recorder of tenures to the Koles of Chota Nagpore, or of officers to effect a detailed settlement in Sonthalia. The foresters of the Kaimur Range are a timid race; a decayed and decaying people inhabiting altogether a neglected spot of the Empire. They can therefore scarcely expect to attract the attention of the reformer or the legislator. In 1807 Dr. Buchanan estimated their number at 15,000, at the last census they counted 6,000, persons. Seventy years of progress in every corner of the country has not reached the threshold of these poor hill-men. The goodness of a Cleveland, the tact of a Macpherson, or the skill of an Outram, who effected such good works among the Sonthals, the Khunds, or the Bhils, never cheered the homes of these primitive races. No missionary or school master has yet trod the hills, and the Cheros and Kharwars appear destined to the common fate of the forest tribes—to oppression at the hands of the rent collector and the money-lender, and ultimate extermination in no distant time. Two schools were opened by us last

winter in the plateau to teach the sons of the aborigines to read and write. There were no more than thirty words forthcoming in the aboriginal dialect. It was therefore reluctantly determined to give lessons to the children of the hill-men in Hindi only. But two schools of the primary type entrusted to all but uneducated teachers can no more regenerate the people than two swallows can make a summer. A portion of their forests has lately been placed under the control of the Government Conservator. But the action of the Forest Department has not been wholly free from oppressiveness in this direction. Let us hope that harsh treatment on their part may not prove the last straw to break the back of the oppressed camel!

C. S. B.

October 1876.

ART. X.—TURNER AS A POET PAINTER.

MR. HAMERTON prefixes to his pleasant book on Turner, as a motto, a sentence from a modern French critic, "Il serait inutile d'être un excellent esprit et un grand peintre, si on ne mettait dans son œuvre quelque chose que la réalité n'a pas." Elsewhere he speaks of Turner as the "poet painter," and likens him to Shelley in the quality of his mental gifts and his sympathy with inanimate nature. And he proceeds to show by a number of examples from Turner's drawings and paintings that the artist was habitually unfaithful to the local characteristics of place or scene, choosing rather to depict the images created in his mind than the actual appearances of nature. "With a knowledge of landscape, vaster than any mortal ever possessed before him, his whole existence was a succession of dreams. Even the hardest realities of the external world itself, granite and glacier, could not awaken him; but he would sit down before them and sketch another dream, there, in the very presence of the reality itself. Notwithstanding all the knowledge and all the observation they reveal, the interest of Turner's twenty thousand sketches is neither topographic nor scientific, but entirely psychological. It is the soul of Turner that fascinates the student, and not the material earth." Mr. Hamerton's position is sufficiently well illustrated by these quotations. He regards Turner as a poet, and as a poet of the particular order that finds in inanimate nature an answer to every mood, and a mysterious power of sympathy with man. It is not necessary here to discuss the nature of this illusion, the "poetic fallacy" as it has been called. It may, as Mr. Ruskin would have it, be a disease of the mind, a product of morbid sensitiveness and intense introspection. Suffice it to say that this close intercommunion with nature, this assignment to it of an independent sentient existence, characterises modern poetry of every school, even when the poet consciously strives, as in the case of the *Earthly Paradise*, to reproduce the spirit of the antique world. The point we are now principally concerned with is that the modern poet's way of dealing with and interpreting nature is exactly reflected in Turner's art. Had Turner been a man of culture, living in free intercourse with the best minds of the time, or even acquainted with its literature, the echo of contemporary thought in his paintings would not have been surprising. Other great painters have moved in the world of men, and drunk deep of its hopes and fears. The stir of human

affairs and the set of human thought are mirrored in their lives and in their canvasses. But Turner was not of these. Richer than Titian or Rubens, he lived in obscurity and died in a garret. No artist has ever had so little fellowship with the world of letters. His education was defective, he read little, and he shunned society. Yet his art caught the same inspiration and busied itself with the same problems as the poets of his time whom he never came across, and probably never heard of. If we want to interpret Turner, we must go to Shelley. If we want to understand how the imagination of the poet can be so fascinated by nature that he becomes its lyre, and the interpreter of its "mighty harmonies," we must see what Turner accomplished through the more difficult medium of painting. It is a remarkable tribute to the influence of the Zeit-geist, that the same idealisation and loving interrogation of nature which are the distinctive note of modern poetry should be the predominating motive in Turner's art.

To speak thus of Turner as a "poet-painter," and to class him with Shelley, shows that landscape art in his hands has wandered far beyond the bounds assigned to it by the critics of the last century. The storehouse of the criticism of the eighteenth century is Lessing's famous "Laocoon." What then does Lessing say as to landscape painting? He thinks so low of the art that he relegates the unfortunate landscape-painter to the functions of a mere imitator and copyist of material objects. Idealisation of inanimate nature he considers impossible, for according to him an ideal of beauty exists in respect to the human form alone. The true end of art he rightly thinks is to express beauty, but as the landscape-painter can have no ideal of beauty to inspire him, he must be content to imitate and reproduce, line for line, what he actually sees. Lessing further quotes the story of the picture by Zeuxis, in which the grapes were drawn so well that the birds came to peck at them, and he would have the landscape-painter bear this in mind as an instance of perfect drawing. Even for the eighteenth century this low estimate of landscape painting is extreme. Lessing evidently had not given the same attention to landscape art as he had to music and figure painting. His critical canons were drawn from the practice of the ancients, and in ancient art landscape held a very inferior place. A little thought shows that the painter can never be a mere imitator, as the actual reproduction in a painting of natural objects is impossible. In spite of all his pains, the intricacy and variety of nature defy him. The most ardent Præ-Raphaelite cannot render every leaf on a tree, or every blade of grass on a forest footpath. He must content himself with symbols of form and colour which

are sufficiently exact to denote the realities for which they stand. Nor, again, does he depend for success on an exact reproduction of the colours of the natural world. A landscape by Constable is in a different scheme of colour from a Cuyp, and they both differ still more from a Salvator Rosa. Set two painters to paint the same sunset, and they will employ different pigments. The symbols of the painter are therefore conventional, and it is absurd to expect him to be a literal copyist of nature. He has to summarise and simplify it, knowing that the aggregate of every scene includes many facts of form, distance, or of aerial perspective, which, in a great measure, defeat each other in any effort to represent them.

Landscape painting therefore is not, as Lessing would have it, an imitative art. But should not a painter follow nature as closely as possible, allowing for the inherent imperfection of his art? Has he any right, when he sits down to paint a scene, to omit some objects, to introduce others, to change a tower into a steeple, to increase the apparent steepness of a hill side, or to modify the curvature of mountains in the background? Lessing of course would say no, on the ground that there is no ideal beauty of inanimate objects, and that therefore the landscape-painter must go hopelessly astray if he attempts to idealise. But he missed the true explanation of the instinct which leads every true artist to depart from the actual facts of a scene. The sensibility of the artist invests what he sees with some predominant sentiment. It is too subtle to be rendered even by reproducing every item in the landscape. The artist can hope to recall it only by such combinations of form and colour as will excite in the mind of the beholder the same imaginative mood which the scene has awakened in him. The method by which he arrives at this cannot be reduced to rule. It is instinct and an innate perception of what is becoming in art that lead him to reject, add to, or modify the phenomena of the material world. He must so far be faithful to Nature that the forms of his art shall have the characteristics of the real objects, but he attains this not by exact imitation of details, but by a rapid summarising of prominent features. Above all, his object is to please. His picture is not meant for a guide-book, or a scientific exposition of vegetable life or mountain forms. It exists to excite emotion; and the only absolute criterion of a work of Art is its power to please. Claude is deservedly a great name in the classical school of landscape Art, and even Lessing would have probably acknowledged Claude's practice as authoritative. There is no evidence that Lessing ever studied the works of this artist or of his school; but had he done so, he would have seen how his theory that

landscape-painting is mere imitation breaks down. Claude, then, is so far true to Nature, that he faithfully renders in his painting the elemental facts of the landscape. If he paints an Italian scene, there is no question as to the Italian character of the trees, the skies, the contour of the mountains. But there he stops short as an imitator, and idealises with a conscious striving after poetical effect. In the presence of the noble Claudes in the Louvre, or in our own national gallery, it would be absurd to say that there can be no ideal loveliness of inanimate nature. The artist at any rate had an ideal landscape in his mind, and we feel that he communicates to us the emotions which this ideal beauty evidently aroused in him.

But if Claude idealised and moved in a world of Art which has little in common with the world of nature, how is it that the epithets "poet-painter" and "dreamer" cannot be applied to him in the same sense that they are to Turner? Mr. Hamerton says that the Art of Turner is more akin to the art of music and harmony than to photography. Could not this, it may be asked, be also said of the Art of Claude? He, like Turner, exercised his imagination in selecting and discarding from nature, and excluded from his canvas whatever did not conform to his idea of beauty in landscape. He was as great an adept in the harmony of colours as a skilful musician in the harmony of chords, and he, as little as the musician, depends for effect on the verisimilitude of his creations to material phenomena. Yet Mr. Hamerton is right. Claude was not a "poet-painter" or a "dreamer" in the sense that Turner was. He idealised, but his idealism was different from the idealism of Turner, and his imaginative handling of Nature was based on a different order of ideas. With Claude the predominant motive is a sense of the picturesque in Nature; with Turner the sense of the mysterious. The landscapes of Claude give the impression of a man who evidently loves Nature, but is never overmastered by her. He has a keen, half-sensuous delight in the beauty of a noble prospect, with its soft skies and mellow distances, as seen through the lucid medium of a southern atmosphere. He had wandered amid many such scenes in Italy and France, and he expresses them in the terms of his Art with unequalled dignity and grace of imagination. The nascent sense of the picturesque which appears in Virgil and the later Latin poets is found exactly reflected in Claude. He knows how to dwell on the main beauties of a landscape, and invest them with that "larger air" and "purple light" which the author of the *Æneid* has thrown over the Elysian fields. *Æneas* and his guide might step into one of Claude's fair scenes without knowing that they had returned through the ivory gate into the upper world:

it would be easy for them to believe that they were still treading the smiling fields of the blest, where heroes repose and the divine lay of the poet is heard. So much for the idealism of Claude, and his exquisite sense of artistic harmony.

It is with Claude as with the ancients. He, like them, moved within a narrow circle of ideas, but within it his conception and execution were perfect. To the ancient artist the phantasies of nature and the conditions of human life were problems comparatively simple to what they are to us. The modern artist is conscious of difficulties and complexities that never suggested themselves to the classical mind. The very fact that he has a deeper insight into the order of nature makes his artistic expression of any part of it more imperfect and unequal. Thus the ease and the perfect execution, which are justly admired in Claude, are due in a considerable measure to the simple and childlike view he took of Nature. He knew the superficial aspect of material phenomena, but he never tried to get behind, so to say, the external mask of Nature and learn the secret laws which she obeys. There is no trace in his work that he was conscious of mysteries in the natural world, which in spite of efforts to grasp them, eluded his technical skill. To the totality of nature he was insensible, but he knew the component parts of a beautiful landscape and he brought them together with infinite grace and skill. To go back to Lessing, we may say of Claude's landscapes that they resemble those pictorial descriptions of scenery in which the poets of the eighteenth century were fond of indulging. A very favourable instance of such pictorial description is to be found in Crabbe's poem of the *Lover's Journey*, and it may be quoted to illustrate our meaning. Crabbe describes an English fen :

On either side

Is level fen, a prospect wild and wide,
With dykes on either hand by ocean's-self supplied ;
Far on the right the distant sea is seen,
And salt the springs that feed the marsh between ;
Beneath an ancient bridge, the straiten'd flood
Rolls through its sloping banks of slimy mud ;
Near it a sunken boat resists the tide,
That frets and hurries to the opposing side, &c.

There is vigour and feeling in these lines. The bleak prospect, the dykes draining their sluggish waters to the sea, the brown, sparse vegetation with which their margins are fringed, are portrayed with clearness and accuracy. The poet deserves praise for having represented unpicturesque objects in a picturesque manner. He has idealised and refined nature as Claude would, had the painter taken in hand such a prosaic subject as a sea-marsh. But a modern poet would see much more in this landscape than Crabbe

does, and the modern painter would try to suggest, in depicting it, an imaginative order of ideas to which Claude with all his idealism was a stranger. To the subjective poet or painter there is a deep sentiment in the gray, formless landscape of the fens, with its delicate aerial distances and its soft draperies of cloud and mist. Outlines vanish in haze, light and shade mingle together through imperceptible gradations, and every object is shrouded by a veil of tender and mysterious melancholy. The modern poet or painter would have been sensitive to this peculiar mood of Nature, and endeavoured to suggest it in his poem or his picture. To take first the poet. We have only to open Tennyson at haphazard, to see how deeply he is conscious of the subjective aspect of the fen-country, and how perfectly he conveys, by suggestion rather than by direct description, the sense of indefinite space, solitude and shadowy distances which it awakens in the mind. -We feel how heavy must have been Tristram's thoughts as he journeyed through the dull waste, past

the illimitable reed

And many a glancing splash and shalloy isle,

And watched

"the wide-winged sunset of the misty March."

We can comprehend the dreariness of Mariana's life in the lonely grange, when the grey-eyed morn awoke in bitter wind to glimmer on a prospect where,

"for leagues no tree did mock

The level waste, the rounding grey."

In the Dirge of the Dying Swan how admirably by a few brief touches are the dim, formless flats suggested, where the reed sighs in the wind, and the heavens are hidden by "an under-roof of doleful grey." Examples might be indefinitely multiplied, but those we have given are enough to show how Nature has a significance and an emotional value to the modern poet which Crabbe never dreamt of. Take any of Turner's pictures or drawings, and the subjective element which we have noticed in Tennyson, is at once discernible. In the *Liber Studiorum* we know from the letter-press headings to the plates that he consciously attributed to this landscape a moral significance or lesson. In a ruined castle he found a warning to human pride, in Riggah weeping for her children, and Procris dying from an arrow, he sought to symbolize all the mute sorrow and suffering of the world. Too much stress has undoubtedly been laid on the moral import of Turner's art. Even if Turner intended that lessons should be read in his landscapes, it is certain that they are not obvious to the many. Painting, like music, can only suggest general emotions, not definite thoughts, and though everyone may be conscious of the exquisite sentiment of melancholy thrown by the artist over the ruined castle and its

surroundings, few will discern that it is a type of fallen pride. Turner therefore pushed in some instances the subjective element in Nature too far. But it is his consciousness of it and his lifelong endeavour to express it in Art that mark him as one of the moderns, and distinguish his work from the Art of former centuries. We have likened Turner to Tenyson and Claude to Crabbe. But a still juster comparison would be Turner to Shelley and Claude to Goldsmith. Goldsmith is *facile princeps* of the descriptive poets of the eighteenth century, and no finer examples of pictorial description exist outside classical literature than are to be found in his poems. The difference in the way in which Goldsmith and Shelley respectively approach Nature, measures precisely the interval between the idealism of Claude and the idealism of Turner. Goldsmith is content if he endues his verse in the external form and colouring of the landscape, Shelley loses himself in attempts to go behind the veil of material phenomena into the presence of Nature herself. Take for instance the well-known lines in the Traveller, which sing the praises of Italy :—

Far to the east where Apennine ascends
Bright as the summer Italy extends :
Its uplands sloping deck the mountain's side
Woods over woods, in gay theatric pride.

Nothing could surpass the ease and finish of this little sketch. Its graceful idealism does exactly in poetry for an Italian landscape what Claude does in painting. Nature to both of them is a thing pleasant to behold ; she neither overpowers them with her sublimity nor exhausts them with obstinate questionings and inscrutable mysteries. The sun shines, the zephyr stirs, an infinite variety of beautiful colours charm the eye. These flowing garments of joy are reproduced by painter and poet with classical grace and perfection, nor are they disturbed by a thought that there may be other harmonies and tones in Nature which our grosser senses fail to catch. There is no trace in poem or picture of that deep intercommunion with Nature, which lightens "the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world," no vision of a presence that disturbs the soul with the joy of lofty thought, no "sense sublime," as Wordsworth phrases it :

"Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky and in the mind of man."

Hence the serenity, the perfection of the Art of Claude and Goldsmith, and hence also its death-like coldness to the modern mind. They tell us nothing about Nature that we want to know. We feel "the burden of the mystery" which earth enfolds in itself : we ask the poet and the painter to interpret it for us, or, if

he cannot interpret it, to give some sign at least of his being conscious of it. Therein lies the charm of Shelley and of Turner. If they cannot explain the sphinx-like face of Nature, if its riddles only trouble the absolute repose which Art should have, both poet and painter are permeated with this abiding sense of the mystery underlying all material phenomena. The difference between Goldsmith's *Traveller* and Shelley's lines on *The Euganean Hills* measures precisely the difference between an Italian landscape of Claude and one of Turner's Venices. It is more than a mere coincidence that the city, whose strange and almost unearthly beauty exercised so great a fascination over the modern painter, should have struck a precisely similar note in the imagination of the modern poet. Let us see how Shelley "dreams" over Venice. The poet from a crag among the Euganean hills awaits the rising of the sun. The mighty God springs from the dark ocean, and the grey shades of the legioned mountains hail him with a psalm of gladness. The mists roll away in silent multitudes, and the waveless Lombard plain, 'bounded by the vaporous air,' slowly reveals itself. The eye travels over this vast and shadowy prospect. On its utmost verge, in the very orb of day, which reclines 'broad, red and radiant' on the quivering line of the waters, lies the sun-girt city, the child of ocean, with its peopled labyrinth of walls. Unearthly and indescribable vision is she of beauty, for colour and form are lost in the mysterious splendour of the great luminary.

"Before that chasm of light,
As within a furnace bright,
Column, tower, and dome, and spire,
Shine like obelisks of fire."

This is all the poet can tell us of what he saw. Yet in spite of this indistinctness of description, he communicates to us something of the supersensuous influences latent in such a scene. Now, Turner's treatment of Venice is precisely that of Shelley. The Venice of his pictures is a "city of crimson, gold, violet, and vermilion, floating over a sea of emerald." Unfriendly critics deny that they bear any likeness to the real Venice. That they have no exact resemblance is true, and yet most persons, who have ever fallen under the wondrous spell of the Adriatic's queen, will find in the ghostlike, mirageful pictures of Turner the undefinable *something* which lurks in the Venetian atmosphere, and in the solemn harmonies of Venetian forms and colouring. Both to Shelley and to Turner this inner principle of Nature is an ever present fact, and it is their constant attempts to express it in their Art that marks them out as essentially moderns.

There can be no doubt that this subjective character of Turner's Art often led him astray. His touch was less sure, and his

tread less firm in the difficult paths of his Art than those of the classic masters of landscape. He lost himself in vain attempts to solve the mysteries of reflection and aerial distance. But some of his failures are due to another cause. Lessing, to refer once more to this great critic, shows that the painter and the sculptor can deal only with the more permanent aspects of nature. It is the poet who alone can paint the varying changes of a summer's day, or the transient effects of a sunset; for he deals with language, and can therefore describe the *movement* of life. But the painter's Art has a more limited scope. He can only represent a single moment of action. He arrests, as it were, one of the unstable shows of nature, and freezes it into a motionless immortality. This is somewhere spoken of as "the eternal now" of the painter. The old masters knew this well. They were aware that there were objects which, though eminently fit for poetical representation, could not be brought on the canvas. Claude or Poussin would never have dreamed of painting the *Rain, Mist and Speed* which hangs in the Turner gallery. To attempt to paint a railway-train rushing through mist and rain, so as to convey the idea of speed and rolling vapour is to try to paint the unpaintable. In this instance, as in many others, Turner wandered outside the bounds of his Art. With more knowledge of literature he would have better understood the scope and functions of painting. But as Mr. Hamerton has shown, Turner's education was very limited. He had to an eminent degree the poetic sense. His want of literary power drove him to express his poetical ideas and imaginings through the medium of painting.

His sketch-book formed his only journal, and his paintings are the record of the dreams and fantasies which natural scenery awakened in his mind, and which might under other circumstances have found expression in prose or verse. He was thus under a constant temptation to put more into his Art than his Art would bear. He forgot that the limits within which a painter works are much narrower than those of the poet. Herein reside at once the fascination and the imperfections of his work. It seems to speak with a living voice as the work of no other landscape-painter does, and to unlock the innermost secrets of Nature. But the signs of failure are often painfully patent, as though the artist had quitted the sure paths of experience, attracted by the gleams of some mysterious and "untravelling world," which ever eluded his efforts to attain to it.

T. W. HOLDERNESS.

ART. XI.—THE ANGLO-INDIAN QUESTION.

(Independent Section.)

THE question is often asked by many of the more thoughtful observers of the history of the development of India, what part in the future is to be played by that factor of the population which is known as the Anglo-Indian? What will be their condition one or two generations hence? Will the race rise to great things, will it maintain its own, or will it be merged in the general mass of the people? This question is one which is worthy of the attention of the greatest of Indian statesmen, although it does not seem to have attracted the notice it merits. It has indeed been taken up fitfully by Governor-Generals, Lieutenant-Governors, Secretaries and others, only to be laid down again, as a question which time alone can solve. The principle of *laissez faire* has been the one which has recommended itself to most of those who have thought of it. Historical induction, say the supporters of this principle, is at best a faulty instrument, and what induction can be made in a case where most of the necessary data are wanting? And if, they add, an induction can be made, is it probable that either the Anglo-Indian community or the English rulers of the country can do much in modifying the foretold result in the way of bettering it? At times, and at present especially, this mode of dealing with the question is out of favour. An Archdeacon of the Church of England is agitating the question of ameliorating the condition of the class, and Lieutenant-Governors and Lord Lytton himself, are said to look upon his projects with a favouring eye. An association belonging to, and originated by the race, has been started, and although it has not yet done much, yet it aims at great results, and may be expected to do something in the future. In this article, therefore, a careful consideration of the question is proposed, and the writer hopes that, whatever the conclusions he arrives at may be, they will be accepted as the outcome of his sincere pursuit of truth. He has the best of reasons for wishing well to the race.

In such a discussion, the first thing to be got at is an exact definition—What is the Anglo-Indian race? Who are its members? Now this is a question which must be decided on economic, not ethnic, grounds. It matters little whether this large number of people be of pure European, or of mixed, descent. If the race increases, as it has been increasing, it will not make it one whit easier for a member of it to get employment, that his ancestors are English, than that they are partly English and partly native. The

true definition of an Anglo-Indian, in the writer's opinion, is that he is one who has made India his home in which to live and in which to bring up his children, and who at the same time wishes, for himself and his children, a degree of comfort, an amount of the necessaries and luxuries of life, superior to that enjoyed by the native Asiatic. Of course there are great divergencies between men and men of this class. There is the rich Anglo-Indian, and the poor Anglo-Indian. There is the man of some culture; there is the almost totally uneducated. But these differences exist in every nationality, in every race. What makes Anglo-Indians one class, and separates them, on the one hand from the European who comes to this country for the sake of earning, so that he may return to his own country to enjoy his earnings, and on the other from the native of the country, is that he is one with the latter in making India his country, while he is one with the former in his manner of living, and in his demand for a higher income than is enjoyed by a native of the same rank. The limits of this class are difficult to define, but so are the limits of all classes. On the one hand, we have military and civil officers, who have preferred the hills to England, and whose children have been brought up in this country. These children sometimes rise to posts of trust. Some of them make England their home. More of them hold to India, as the country in which they intend to live and die. They may take a trip to England, but still it is not their country; India the country of their parent's adoption is the country of which they are citizens. These must be counted amongst Anglo-Indians. If they make England their home, they fall out of the category. There is always of course a fluent class, which it would be difficult to define. At the other end of the scale you have men more than half native by birth, almost entirely native by character. By gradual stages you descend to darker and darker shades, until you get to the man who is only distinguishable from the native by his clothes. Here the economic test must be used. Does the man having some European blood in him aim at, and not rest content without a higher wage than the native of this country? If so, he must be included in the class of whom I am writing; if not he must be classed with the mass of the people of this country.

The first thing one remarks in looking into the problem before him, is the want of the data for any historical induction or analogy. There is no nation in the world's history which can be well compared with the Anglo-Indian race. The Venetians, who settled largely in all parts of the mediæval world, had always Venice for their home, and their sojourn in foreign parts was solely

for the sake of gain. The Parsis of India, and the Jews throughout the world, are peculiar people, whose strict religious and social principles have always bound them together in a special way; their marriage laws and their social exclusiveness particularly tending to make their condition an exceptional one. On the other hand, the Anglo-Indian community, always receiving accessions from outside, and having no bond to keep them together, except the fact of their being a race under a peculiar economic condition, have nothing to keep them under restrictions, either as to increase in numbers, or as to holding together as a class. Again the mixed races in Central America, which at first sight would seem to present more analogy to the case of the Anglo-Indians, differ from them in this, that they have come in course of time to be one of the largest elements of the population of their country, whereas the race we are speaking of can never hope to be more than a small fraction of the inhabitants of India. The result of the mixture of races in Central America, is, as Sir Charles Dilke points out, that the population have got the characteristics of one of the factors in the mixture, *i. e.* the Indian. We have, then, no induction to guide us. To whatever conclusions we may come, we must come to them from *à priori* reasoning by deduction from economic laws, modified by the peculiar characteristics of the race itself.

The first thing necessary in a deduction of this sort, is to state clearly the question to be solved. It is this:—how can a population like the Anglo-Indian, daily increasing in numbers, maintain itself in a state of comfort, superior to that of the mass of the population around them? The way in which they have maintained themselves up to this time is by Government employment. But this, it is evident, is a state of things which cannot continue long. Two causes are conclusive against it. They are, first the increase in numbers, while the number of Government positions is likely to remain stationary, and secondly native competition. It is evident that a population getting larger and larger, and a given number of Government positions remaining the same, a smaller percentage of the whole race must daily be earning their bread by Government employ. But the number of posts under Government does not remain the same; it is daily growing smaller and smaller, owing to our second reason—native competition. Our Government colleges are sending out yearly a number of young men, who are generally better educated than their Anglo-Indian brethren, and who are willing to do the same work on less wages than the latter do; and Government, like any other employer of labour, will naturally go to the cheaper market. Whatever reasons the Government may have for preferring Anglo-Indians on the ground of preventing the

deterioration of the race, are counterbalanced by other reasons, which make it expedient to give the native as large a share as possible in the administration of the country. The results of these two reasons mentioned above, are already evident. A young Anglo-Indian gets into Government employment, as a rule at present, on a smaller salary than formerly, and takes a much longer time to rise to a position of comfort, not to speak of affluence. The weight of these reasons is daily increasing, and it is ever getting more evident that our problem can never be solved by the expedient of Government labour. Some other way must be found—such a way the Anglo-Indian Society believes itself to have found in the extensive employment of Anglo-Indians in trade, in commerce, in manufactures. I will now proceed to enquire into the practicability of this solution. I shall neglect for the present employment on the railways, or in any other semi-governmental department in which it may be expedient, for political reasons, solely to employ those who are by birth in some way connected with England. Such employment may for the present be a great resource for Anglo-Indians, and it is evident that, with increase of capital in India, increased railway communication will be requisite. It is a matter, however, of but little doubt that the Anglo-Indian population is increasing faster than the capital of India. The Calcutta Association proposes trade and skilled labour as a great means for keeping up the standard of comfort amongst Anglo-Indians. They ought, the Association says, to take to boot-making, carpentering and other branches of labour performed by the artizans at home. Archdeacon Baly proposes, I believe, such trades as papering? &c., for which occupations, in his opinion, Anglo-Indians have a special capacity. Now, there is but little doubt that the inhabitant of India of European descent, could, with proper training, turn out in the same time a boot superior to that produced by the *moochee* of our bazaar. But then he will demand a higher price for it. He will be able to undersell the native boot-maker only on one condition, *viz.*, that he will consent to live as cheaply as a native boot-maker. This, however, is not in accordance with the definition, we have laid down as the foundation of our problem. We have defined an Anglo-Indian as one who aims at a higher degree of comfort and a higher remuneration for his labour, than a native in the same rank of life. The question comes in which is being worked out in California, in Queensland, and in many other parts of the world. A Chinaman in California may do only half the work of an Englishman, but then he only asks for one-third of his pay. So I am afraid will be the case here. The Anglo-Indian may do the work better, but the native will do it so much cheaper, that he will

prevent the former from really being able to establish himself in any of the great trades. Even with Archdeacon Baly's papering, it is a doubtful question whether, in case of its becoming remunerative on a large scale, native workmen will not learn the trade from their Christian brethren, so as to be able to undersell them. The only way to prevent this would be to establish guilds, with secrets as close as those of Freemasonry, and with the strictest of regulations. I need hardly say that such a thing is impossible. There is another difficulty, however, which I have not seen noticed, connected with this subject. Suppose the Anglo-Indian did manage to survive the competition of the native. Suppose, for instance, his boots were made so well that even though they were dearer than a native's, still, in consequence of their superior quality, they held their own in the market, and enabled him to earn an income on which he might live in comfort, he would then have to fear the competition of labourers imported from Europe. The working class in Europe is not so well off, but that it is ready to seize an opportunity of coming to a country where the remuneration of labour is much better than in its own. Of course this danger may be said to be a remote one. The remuneration for labour in the foreign land would have to be much better than it is in the labourer's country, for him to leave it; his love of his native soil, and his ignorance would alike be against it. Most of the labour which has been imported has been imported by large companies, such as the railways. There would be no companies to import men for artisans' work. The Government would certainly not encourage it. An isolated employer of labour might do it now and then, but it would not be a common thing. Still India is getting daily closer to England, and men are daily getting more and more in the habit of changing their country. If labour did come to India, the result would be soon obvious. The supply would be greater than the demand, and the price, and consequently, the remuneration of labour in the particular trade would fall. The number of members of the Anglo-Indian community would be increased. On account, however, of the grounds stated above, I am not inclined to think this danger, though it is a danger, nearly so formidable as that of being undersold by the native artisan. It would be the same not only in trade, but also in almost every other branch of employment. If agricultural communities were started, the produce would be brought to market at a dearer rate than that at which the produce of the neighbouring Hindu cultivator would be sold. Improved methods of cultivation would be counterbalanced by more expensive habits of living, and even these improved methods would, in course of time, be adopted by the native. There remains then only for an agricultural com-

munity the living on their produce, and buying whatever goods they may want, which they do not themselves produce, by the sale of domestic manufactures, which not being made by them for their subsistence, they could afford to sell at a rate below the market price. But such a course would expose them first of all to the vicissitudes of the seasons, and in case of the failure of their crops to famine, and, would also in the second place keep them miserably poor as regards worldly goods, and also terribly stunted both intellectually and morally. I do not say anything here about commerce; for commerce needs capital, and capital is the very thing which Anglo-Indians more than any other class want. My object is, besides, to discuss the prospects of the mass of the people, not of the few favoured ones in the community. Such are the conclusions, which we are forced to draw *à priori* from the laws of political economy. But it has often happened that a race, by the energy inherent in it has made itself, for a time, at least, superior to the laws of political economy. By saying so, I do not mean to say that the laws of political economy have had no effect upon such a race; for the laws of production are as much laws of necessity as the laws of physical nature. All that I mean to say is that, by exerting itself to its utmost, a race has often maintained itself, such maintenance being indeed in accordance with economic law, where, to one looking at the matter from an *à priori* point of view, maintenance would seem impossible. Energy, such as I have spoken of, arises chiefly from two causes;—*i. e.*, the descent of the race from an energetic ancestry, and the favoring of such a development by external circumstances. Let us see how far these two causes pre-dispose the Anglo-Indian community to such exertion as will enable them to hold their own under the ever-increasing competition of the natives of this country.

First of all, they all have, to different extents, European, chiefly British, blood in their veins. And it is undoubted that such blood is to some degree an aid to them in their struggle for existence. It will pre-dispose them to endurance, stubborn perseverance in the race for life, unless it be checked and counterbalanced by other stronger opposing forces. The effects of European blood flowing in the veins of the Anglo-Indians were patent in the times of the mutiny, when they showed, especially in Lucknow, great resolution and courage. But, along with the qualities which they get from their European ancestry, the great majority of them also get by their birth, the qualities peculiar to the native. If they have some of the English energy, which often turns into over-bearingness, they also have much of the native suppleness, which, when exaggerated, becomes cringing and

deceitful. It is important to notice that I am speaking here only of hereditary qualities; afterwards I shall discuss the qualities they gain from their surroundings. Summing up, then, this part of the discussion, we may say that an Anglo-Indian possesses, as a rule, by birth the characteristics both of a European and of a native, but in a less degree. He is less supple than a native, less energetic than a European.

We now proceed to discuss his character as moulded by surroundings, by much the most important point in our estimation of the class.

The first and most important feature in his surroundings is, that in his, what Lord Canning called, Indianising. Archdeacon Baly, in a letter to the *Pioneer* lately, stated that if the poor European and Eurasian sent his children to the High schools established by Government which are almost solely attended by natives, these children would proceed through a course of Indianisation. But he does not seem to perceive that, as things are at present and as they are almost sure to remain, the child's surroundings are such as will naturally influence his character by turning his mind towards Oriental ideas. Who are the child's great friends, the better liked because the child has a sense of superiority? The bearer, and the Ayah. Any one who knows anything about Anglo-Indians will know that their children from their infancy are surrounded with servants, who are incessantly chatting with them, whose presence exerts as strong an influence on their character as almost any other. You will never see a young boy of this country at a loss to talk with any illiterate native either of low caste, or of low rank. No one can look upon this enormous influence which servants exercise on the childhood of any one brought up here without profound regret. It is an unmitigated evil, though a necessary one. By no means, neither by hill schools, nor by increased parental attention, will you manage to cut off a child from the mass of human beings by which he is surrounded and keep them from having a powerful influence over him. Archdeacon Baly's criticism, then, of Government schools and colleges is incorrect, if he thereby means to say that these schools and colleges would be the great means of Indianisation. That they would aid in the process is true, though not to any very great extent. But I maintain that the influence of these institutions would, if patronised by the class we are speaking of, be of the greatest benefit. For, whereas the servant shows chiefly the lowest forms of the native character, low cunning, abject superstition and general abasement, the students of our Government colleges, show the better side, steady perseverance, hard work and intellectual power. From the servant the child

learns to despise the person whom he elegantly terms a nigger. From the Hindu school boy, or college student, he learns a certain amount of respect for native character. It is a good thing for him to be in our colleges in many ways ; it lowers his opinion of his innate superiority, when he sees native students surpassing him in the study of many branches of knowledge, and even, as they not unfrequently do, advancing to almost the same stage of knowledge of English as himself. The conceit which an Anglo-Indian has, and which is one of his most pernicious qualities, is sure to be lessened by this process. Again, Anglo-Indians will have to pass all their lives rubbing their shoulders with the native population, either in Government offices, or in other branches of employment. What prejudice is it then to object to their meeting and being with the better class of natives for four or five a hours a day. It may be argued, and I myself admit, that on religious grounds separate schools are advisable for children of tender years. But that a boy of 13 or 14, or older, should be kept from attending a Government school on the ground of fear of being Indianised, when he is being Indianised every day, almost every hour, of his life, is a sheer absurdity.

Such being the case, then, that all children brought up in this country must go through the process of being impregnated with Indian thought and feeling, it is evident *à priori*, and history confirms the statement, that India has a great, if not the greater part, in their character when formed. Physically you may notice the influence of the country in Anglo-Indians in their early precocity, and, in case they have been brought up in the plains, in the want of the exuberance of childhood which English children possess to so remarkable a degree. Even children brought up in the hills, though they look much healthier and cheerier, than the plains' child, have not, as a rule, the same activity as an English child. Intellectually the marked characteristic of Anglo-Indians is also extreme precocity. India is like a forcing house to intellectual as well as physical qualities. The race have never had, perhaps, in the matter of learning, a fair chance. A native can afford to stay at college till he is two or three-and-twenty, because he can live on very little, and, as a college career largely enhances his chances of success in life, that little is considered capital well spent. But few Anglo-Indian lads can do this, for two reasons. First of all, their guardians are not generally well enough off to permit their working at books after the age of eighteen or so, unless, as in the case of the Engineering class at Roorkee, there is a certainty of a speedy return for the amount of money expended. Secondly natives can study up to three and twenty, because they can live on little ; now an Anglo-Indian is, by our definition, a person who

needs more for his support than is necessary to support a native in a similar position of life; consequently the amount of money expended on a native's education will not educate the Anglo-Indian. Another stumbling block which has been in the way of an Anglo-Indian in his pursuit of learning is the influence exerted upon him at home. The Anglo-Indians of the past generation were brought up when schools were few and poor, and consequently have had but a scanty share of education. No influence comes from them, then, which will either give their children a love of reading and study, or direct their children to what they ought to read. Education is looked upon solely as a means whereby a livelihood may be gained. Home influences have always the greatest effect on the mind. Any school-master in India, whose experience has been with the community I am writing about, will tell you of the utter apathy of the students as regards intellectual topics beyond the course of their study, and their utter want of interest in reading.

Morally, too, India is one of the chief formative influences which mould the Anglo-Indian's character. Some one has summed up the moral character of the Anglo-Indian by saying that he has the vices of both races and the virtues of neither. This, like most epigrams, is not true. He has the qualities of both nationalities to a certain extent. He is less persevering, but more sober, than an Englishman. He is supple, but not so supple as a native. His warm family affections take their source from the love of one's family so strong in the East. One unpleasant quality he has, which is often prominently obtrusive and which is much noticed and much disliked by all who meet him. He has, as a rule, great conceit. This quality is directly engendered by what Archdeacon Baby would encourage. Keep him from meeting natives who are his equals in character, in intellect, in the class-room, and confine his knowledge of native character to what he may gain from servants and petty pedlars, and you are going the best way to inspire him with feelings of superiority over the native, and to engender that pride which is often so conspicuous and absurd. Another reason, less powerful, but still operative in producing this conceit, is the fact that he is half ashamed of himself. If he be a European by birth, he will own no kinship with his class. If he be of mixed descent, he instinctively looks up to the man with a skin slightly fairer than his own, and down on the man with a skin a shade or two darker. This half feeling of shame causes, in his dealing with Englishmen, reserve, which is shown by extreme sensitiveness and becomes finally conceit.

I have now, I think, taken up the question from almost all points. I have first taken up the purely *a priori* side of the ques-

tion, and shown on the grounds of political economy how difficult it will be for the Anglo-Indian to maintain his present condition. I have next discussed the character of the race to see if it has any points which will enable it to defeat the evil predictions of economic science. I think, if the conception of the race I have given above is correct, that no such characteristics are to be found, or that they are to be found only in a minor degree. What, then, is the conclusion? It is that the race, as a separate race, is doomed. As being of the Christian religion, and connected with England, the Government may employ large numbers either as soldiers or in its offices, and great companies, such as railways, may also do the same. But the Anglo-Indian population is increasing, and shows every sign of future increase, at a rate which will prevent the Government, however much it may wish it, from employing more than a comparatively small number. The race, it seems to me, must ultimately merge into the general population of the country. There will of course be rich Anglo-Indians, as there are rich Hindus, and the class of extremely poor Anglo-Indians will in all probability be small, compared, with the corresponding class of natives. Nor will this result, galling though it may be to the pride of the Anglo-Indian, be an evil one. Evils there must be, but there is no reason why these should not be counterbalanced by much greater good. India is a country with great traditions, and there is no reason why its great past should not be succeeded by a greater future. Once mixed with the masses of this country, the Anglo-Indian will be proud instead of ashamed of his father-land. With a nobler religion, with the advantages derived from a descent from the most energetic nation of the west, there is no reason why he should not take the lead in the literary, political and social movements of India in the future. This he will never do, if he stand aside, and keep apart from the other inhabitants of his country. But let him throw off the feeling which prompts this isolation, let him declare himself a fellow countryman to the rest of the people of India, and it will be seen that the Indianisation which must necessarily be the moulding force of his character, will become, instead of the hateful thing Lord Canning imagined it, the means of great and good results.

P. K.

THE QUARTER.

SELDOM has the policy of compromise been followed by more signal retribution than in the case of the terrible catastrophe by which the British Embassy at Kabul has just been overwhelmed and the work of our armies, along with the last iota of the treaty by which it was prematurely terminated, obliterated for ever. In their reckless haste to secure the appearance of a triumph, Ministers at home allowed their eyes to be closed to the lessons of history, and, instead of the sound fruit which a little more effort and a little more patience would have placed within its grasp, the Government of India was compelled to accept the Dead Sea apples proffered by its enemy. In negotiating with the foe at his gates, instead of imposing its own terms upon him in his citadel, the Government of India committed a two-fold error. It accepted, as facts, assumptions which in such a position it could not verify, and which proved to be erroneous; and it created in the mind of its adversary the presumption that its leniency was the result of weakness. The reality of the facts which it assumed, and a firm conviction of its strength on the part of the enemy, being alike essential to the fulfilment of its aims, the ultimate frustration of those aims became inevitable the moment it was decided to conclude peace at Gandamak. Not only has the Government thus subjected to unnecessary ship-wreck a policy which was in itself wise, and for the realisation of which only moderate firmness was necessary, but it has tempted its enemy to add injury to insult.

The perverse counsels which have provoked this calamity, furnish but one more illustration of the incapacity of purely Western statesmanship to grasp the peculiar conditions of Oriental politics. In Europe, where mutual faith is strong and the spirit of modern civilisation makes for peace, the principle of compromise often acts as a convenient palliative of evils whose radical cure could be immediately effected only by heroic remedies, but which time may be reasonably expected to extirpate. In the East, where mutual faith is weak and men's passions are easily raised to white heat, it is but rarely that the principle of compromise does not intensify the disease.

We have said above that, in negotiating at Gandamak, the Government of India accepted, as facts, assumptions which, in such a position, it could not verify. Two prime conditions were essential to the success of the treaty,—that the Amir should be sincere; and that he should be able to compel obedience to its provisions on the part of his subjects. As far as regards the power of gauging the Amir's feelings, not much, it is true, would have been gained by

an advance on Kabul ; and it may have been argued, with some degree of plausibility, that such an advance was likely to prove too sore a trial of his friendship, however sincere it might be. Based, as all Afghan friendship must be, on belief in our power, that of Yakub Khan would, in fact, probably have been corroborated, rather than destroyed, by the bolder and more imposing course. Still, had there been nothing else but his feelings to consider, and had his friendship been alone sufficient to ensure the fulfilment of the treaty, there would have been some excuse for the concession.

As regards the other point, the case was very different. Up to within a few days of the time when Yakub Khan set out for Gandamak, the Government of India was in absolute ignorance of his actual position at Kabul. So far from possessing any information regarding the extent of his power as a ruler, it was not even positively certain that he ruled at all. Nor is there any reason to believe that, when the treaty was signed, the Government was much better informed on this point. There was evidence, indeed, that when Sher Ali left his capital, he had placed Yakub in authority at Kabul, and that Yakub had assumed the title of Amir on his father's death. The fact that he was able to visit the British camp at Safed Sang, with all the pomp of royalty and accompanied by a considerable force, and that his absence was attended by no disorder at the Capital, showed that the troops there acquiesced for the time being in his succession. Even this fact, however, was deprived of much of its significance by the peculiar circumstances of the case ; while, at the best it furnished but a very poor guarantee either of the Amir's influence over the people and chiefs of Afghanistan, or of the strength of his hold on the allegiance of the standing army. Still less was known of the Amir's personal capacity to rule, and what was known was far from encouraging. Popular rumour denied him ordinary sanity, and though it had become sufficiently apparent that this was an exaggeration, it was only too probable that his long imprisonment had impaired both his intellect and his nerves. Ordinary prudence would have dictated the advisability of the closest possible investigation of all these points as a preliminary of any treaty the fulfilment of the most important provisions of which was to depend upon the Amir's action. That no such investigation was made is the more surprising, that the provisions of the Treaty of Gandamak were of a kind which, in the circumstances of the country, could only be fulfilled by a ruler of far more than average influence and strength of will. The maintenance of order, where disorder had been from time immemorial the normal condition of things ; the subjugation, or at the least the repression, of hostile prejudices which had hitherto proved indomitable and

irrepressible ; the provision of elaborate ways and means where bare subsistence alone had been previously attainable, all these superlative achievements and more were essential to the thorough working out of the Amir's part of the treaty. Much might, it is true, have been left, and was doubtless meant to be left, to time ; but there was much which would not brook delay. Then there was the fact that, however really advantageous the treaty might have been for Afghanistan, the people of the country were certain at first to see in it little but disadvantage, and that thus, from the very first, the Amir's power would be exposed to a severe test.

That an advance on Kabul and its temporary occupation would have put the Government in a position to learn all that it was desirable to learn, we do not maintain ; but there can be no doubt that such a course would have placed it in a position to learn much of inestimable value. Above all, such a course would have convinced the Afghans of the power of the British Government, and, by so convincing them, would have proportionately strengthened the Amir himself.

To the error of taking for granted conditions that were not ascertained, and the existence of which was antecedently more or less improbable, was superadded another and still more inexcusable error. Knowing that, at the best, it was acting in the dark, it might have been expected that the Government would, at all events, have adopted precautions to guard against the worst consequences of deception. Having, for instance, without any proof of the Amir's ability to protect it, determined to place an Embassy in a place where, unless adequately protected, it would be in instant and extreme peril, one would have thought that it would at least have made effective provision for the safety of the Embassy against attack, by furnishing it with a strong escort and insisting on its being located in a defensible position. It did neither the one nor the other. The escort allowed the Embassy was so weak as to preclude the supposition that it was intended for the purpose of defence at all ; and the building in which the Embassy was located was so untenable, that it might well have been selected for the purpose of rendering defence impossible. Had the Embassy been accompanied by even a couple of hundred men properly armed, and had it been located in a strong building, judiciously situated, no body of Afghans would have ventured to attack it at all. If there was no such building available, the Government should have insisted on the immediate construction of one, or constructed one at its own expense ; and, until such a building was ready for its reception, the Embassy should not have been sent.

To construct a harmonised account of the catastrophe of the 3rd September from the widely different narratives that have been

received, is a task of no small difficulty. The following summary will, we believe, be found to comprise the essential facts as far as they are known: At about eight o'clock in the morning of that day, one of three regiments, lately arrived from Herat, which were encamped in the Bala Hissar, and which had been for some time past in a mutinous condition, was paraded for pay. One month's pay was offered them by the Minister, and being dissatisfied with that, they went, with General Karim Khan, their commanding officer, to General Daud Shah and demanded two months'. This being refused, they broke out into open mutiny, and were at once joined by another of the regiments already mentioned; and while some went for their arms, others made straight for the Residency. Rushing into the courtyard of the building, the latter appear to have commenced the attack by stoning the horses and, some accounts say one, others several, of the syces of the escort. On this, some of the Guides, without orders from their officer or any of the European members of the Embassy, fired on the perpetrators of the outrage, who thereupon also went away for their arms. During the interval of respite thus afforded to the inmates of the Residency, those of the escort who were outside assembled within the building, closed the outer gate, and, under the directions of Sir Louis Cavagnari, made such preparations as were possible for their defence. Returning with their arms, some of the mutineers lost no time in occupying a high building, at a short distance from the Residency, and completely commanding it. From this position they opened fire upon the British officers and escort, who had assembled on the roof of the building, while others fired with little effect from below. The defenders, having constructed a sort of shelter trench, contrived to maintain their position on the roof for several hours, at the same time keeping up a destructive fire on their assailants from the windows and from loopholes which they had made in the walls of the building. In the meantime other regiments from outside the Bala Hissar, together with the scum of the city, joined in the attack. About midday, Sir Louis Cavagnari, having been struck in the forehead by a spent bullet, was compelled to retire to a room in the interior of the building, where he was attended by Doctor Kelly, and about the same time Jamadars Jewand and Mahtab Singh were wounded. Shortly after this Mr. Jenkyns dictated a letter to the Amir asking for assistance. This letter was written by one of the Guides and carried by Ghulam Nabbi to the Amir, who wrote a reply which Ghulam Nabbi was unable to take back to the Residency, but which was verbally reported by him to Taimur, an escaped Guide, to have run, "If God will; I am just making arrangements." A second letter to the Amir

was presently sent by the hands of a Hindu ; but he was at once despatched by the mutineers. About this time the mutineers—according to some accounts, by means of artillery—burst in the outer door of the Residency, and, in spite of a gallant resistance, swarmed into the building and fired it.

If the narrative of the Guide, Taimur, is to be trusted on the point, some sort of verbal appeal was at this stage of the affair made through him to the mutineers, who appear to have gained possession of the roof of the Residency, and, on this appeal failing to produce any effect, he was sent up to them with a letter. But he was seized and beaten and thrown down from the Residency on to the roof of a lower house, where he became insensible, and whence, after a time, he was taken before General Karim Khan, who professed his inability to stop the disturbance.

After Taimur was taken away from the Residency, the fire would appear to have made rapid progress, driving the defenders from one part of the building to another, and at last rendering the place entirely untenable.

Our accounts of what took place at the last are obscure, and based almost entirely on hearsay evidence. General report, confirmed by the positions in which the bodies of the defenders were seen the next morning, seems to establish the fact that the survivors, headed by Lieutenant Hamilton, Mr. Jenkyns and Dr. Kelly, charged out among the crowd and, after inflicting heavy loss upon their assailants, were all killed. The body of Lieutenant Hamilton, who is said to have shot or cut down five of the enemy before he fell, was lying near a gun about seventy yards from the Residency ; that of Mr. Jenkyns not very far from it, and that of Dr. Kelly close to the Residency stairs. Sir Louis Cavagnari's body is not ascertained to have been found, and he is said to have been buried, as he lay wounded in one of the rooms of the Residency, under a portion of the building which fell in.

The Amir's account of the affair is contained in three letters. The first of these, which is described as being dated 8 A. M. on the day of the outbreak, but which, from the facts recited in it, could hardly have been written till the afternoon, related hurriedly that the troops who had been assembled for pay at the Bala Hissar, suddenly broke into mutiny, and assaulted the British Residency, after having stoned their officers ; that they were received by the Residency with "a hail of bullets ;" that the tumult was swelled by the troops from the outlying cantonments, and by the people of the city and the country around, who destroyed the artillery park, magazine, and workshops, and that His Highness made three ineffectual attempts to restrain the assailants, sending, first, his Commander-in-Chief Daud Shah, who was beaten down

by the mob, and was supposed to be dying, then his son with Yahiya Khan, the Governor of Kabul, and finally some Sayyads and Mullahs.

In his second letter, dated the 4th September, the Amir states that "the assault on the British Embassy was protracted, with much loss of life on both sides, from the morning till the evening of Wednesday, the 3rd instant, when the besiegers set fire to the Residency, and the Amir had been unable to discover whether the Envoy had perished or had been rescued. He goes on to declare that the catastrophe had been brought about by malcontent and seditious persons, for the disruption of his alliance with the British, and for the ruin of his government; that he is shut up within his house with a few attendants, having totally lost authority and control over the troops and the people; and that he has used every effort in vain to suppress the disorder; that his kingdom has been brought to destruction by these events; but that after God his strong reliance is upon the friendship and union with the British Government, from whom he solicits advice as to how he should act. He protests that he will maintain a firm hold on the friendship of the British Government, and that his sincerity and innocence will be made manifest. He concludes by deploring the loss of the Envoy, whereby his State is ruined."

The Amir's third letter, written in answer to one from General Roberts, runs as follows:—"I have received your letter of the 7th, and was much pleased. I fully understand what was written. Complete confidence was restored, and a sense of relief felt in the friendship shown by the Viceroy, as my prosperity found favour in his sight. I am dreadfully distressed and aggrieved at the recent event, but there is no fighting against God's will. I hope to inflict such punishment on the evil doers as will be known world-wide and prove my sincerity. I have twice written on this subject, and the third time by my confidential servant, Sher Muhammad Khan. I now write to say that for these eight days, I have preserved myself and family by the good offices of those who were friendly to me, partly by bribing, and partly by hoaxing the rebels. Some of the cavalry I have dismissed, and night and day am considering how to put matters straight. Please God, the mutineers will soon meet with the punishment they deserve, and my affairs be arranged in satisfaction of the British Government. Certain persons of high position in these provinces have become rebellious, but I am watching carefully and closely every quarter. I have done all I could to insure Nawab Gholam Hussan Khan's safety. I trust to God for the opportunity of showing my sincere friendship for the British Government and recovering my good name before the world.

The assertion of the Amir that he despatched successively General Daud Shah, and his son, with Sirdar Yáhiya Khan and Mustafi Habibulla, to try and restrain the mutineers, and that they were attacked and repulsed, is confirmed by the statements of a number of persons who, however, either, as in the case of Taimur and Kajir Khan, merely report what they had heard from others, or, as in that of Jalal-ud-Din Khan, and the nameless Afghan deponent whose statement is published in the *Englishman* newspaper of the 29th ultimo, lie more or less under the suspicion of being partial witnesses. According to the witness last mentioned, not only was General Daud Shah attacked and wounded, but the men who accompanied him as an escort, were killed, and this is also confirmed by what Taimur heard from others. The general effect of this testimony is, we think, to make it probable that the Amir's statement on this point is true, and that the officials named, and also the Amir's son, actually did go to the Residency and do their best to put a stop to the attack.

The Government of India, on receiving intelligence of the outbreak on the morning of the 5th September, lost no time in issuing orders to General Massey at Ali Kheyl for an immediate movement on the Shuturgardan, while General Roberts was at once instructed to start for Peshawar and take command of the troops in the Kuram Valley for an early advance on Kabul. General Stewart was at the same time ordered by telegram to hold Kandahar, and the troops which had already left that place on their return to India, were directed to concentrate there again without delay. Measures were at the same time set on foot to reinforce the troops in the Khaibar with a view to their advance, in support of General Roberts' force, by Jalálábád. The most energetic steps were taken to organise a supply of transport, Sir M. Kennedy being appointed to superintend the arrangements for this purpose.

The following order, issued by the Government of India, describes the plan of operations decided on, and lays down the strength and composition of the Kuram and Khaibar columns:

Simla, 10th September 1879.

"The occupation of Cabul having become a necessity, carriage is being supplied, and measures taken to send troops under the command of Major-General Sir Frederic Roberts from Kuram to Cabul.

2. The troops to proceed with General Roberts will consist of—

- 1 Battery Horse Artillery.
- 1 do. Field "
- 1 Mountain Train Battery.

1 Squadron 9th Lancers.	5th Goorkhas.
67th Foot.	5th Punjab Infantry.
72nd Highlanders.	23rd Pioneers.
92nd ditto.	28th Punjab Infantry.
12th Bengal Cavalry.	3rd Sikhs.
14th ditto.	1 Company, Sappers and Miners.
Wing, 5th Punjab Cavalry.	Giving a total of 7 or 8,000 men.

3. The following force is available to advance simultaneously and open communication between Peshawur and Cabul, and should suffice for the purpose :—

1 Horse Artillery Battery.	2 Regiments British Infantry.
1 Field ditto.	4 Regiments Native Cavalry.
1 Heavy ditto.	5 Regiments Native Infantry.
2 Mountain Train Batteries.	2 Companies, Sappers and Miners.
1 Regiment British Cavalry.	

In addition to the troops now holding the Khyber as far as Lundi Kotal and the Peshawur Valley.

4. It is proposed to assign the command of a moveable column in advance to Brigadier-General C. J. S. Gough, V.C., C.B.; of Jellalabad, to Brigadier-General C. G. Arbuthnot, C.B.; of the Khyber, to Brigadier-General J. Doran, C.B.—the command of the whole operation being entrusted to Major-General R. O. Bright, C.B., who will hold supreme command from Attock to Jugdaluk.

5. The operation, as thus developed, will represent an advanced division capable of meeting anything that Afghanistan can bring against it, located at Cabul, with its communications assured, and itself supported from Peshawur—the troops in advance of the Khyber numbering some 15,000 men.

6. It is believed, that an abundant harvest is now ripening in the Logar and Cabul valleys, and we may trust to the same and greater facilities presenting themselves for supply at Cabul, as proved to be the case at Kandahar, and on the Thull-Chotiali route. In fact, we know that in a season such as this promises to be, there will be abundant supplies in Cabul; but to leave nothing to chance, we have provided for shortcomings by means of the Jellalabad route.

7. The garrison at Kurrum and in advance of Thull will consist of—

1 Field Battery.	2 Native Cavalry Regiments.
2 Mountain Train Batteries.	7 Native Infantry ditto.
2 British Regiments Infantry.	

At the same time Lieutenant-General Sir D. Stewart has told off a column equal to a division, with heavy artillery, to come up on the line towards Ghuzni, watching events and maintaining the peace of the country."

On the 11th ultimo, the summit of the Shuturgardan was occupied by a force consisting of the 22nd Pioneers, the 5th Gurkhas and a Mountain battery; and notwithstanding the almost total dearth of the means of transport, especially in the Kuram Valley and adjacent districts, created by the operations of last autumn and spring, the arrangements for the supply of carriage to General Roberts were sufficiently advanced by the 24th ultimo to enable a brigade, under General Baker, to be pushed forward to Kushi on that date. By the 26th, the transport of the Kuram Column was so far completed that it was considered advisable to suspend the supply and concentrate further efforts on that of the Khaibar Column. On the 27th, the advance force under General Baker had reached Zargunshahar, two marches from Kabul, where it was to be joined by General Roberts the following day, and it was confidently expected that the last of the Kurram Field Force would leave Ali Kheyl on the 29th ultimo, and that Kabul would be entered on the 1st instant. General Roberts had been instructed to send on a proclamation to Kabul in advance, warning all peaceably disposed persons to take steps for their safety and that of their wives and children, and announcing that all persons found with arms in or near Kabul would be treated as enemies.

On the 22nd an embassy, with further letters from the Amir, similar in purport to those previously received, arrived at Ali Khel; and on the 27th, the Amir himself, accompanied by his son Sirdar Yahiya Khan and General Daud Shah, with a retinue of 200 men, came into General Baker's Camp at Kushi, the Amir having previously written to him to know whether he would be received. The city of Kabul was, when they left it, in a state of anarchy, and the gates were closed.

General Hughes' brigade, consisting of the 59th Foot, the 2nd Panjáb Cavalry and wings of the 3rd Gurkhas and 2nd Beluchis, with two guns 11-11 Royal Artillery from Kandahar, had arrived half way to Kelat-i-Ghilzai by the 27th ultimo, and would probably have reached that place by the end of the month. In the meantime, it had been ascertained that three Afghan regiments with eight guns,—whether the mutinous regiments from Kabul, or those previously despatched from that place to put down the revolt in Badakshan, is not known—were at Ghazni.

On the Khaibar line the Guides occupied Dakka on the 29th ultimo, and General Gough's brigade, 2,500 strong, was expected to occupy Bhosawal, on the 28th a general advance of the force towards Jellalabad being made about the 9th current.

One of the results of the outbreak has been the issue of orders for the immediate construction of a line of railway on the broad gauge from Sakkar to Dadar, the collection and transport of

materials for which has been already commenced, and it is hoped to complete the work in six months. Strenuous exertions are also being made to complete the Panjab Northern State Railway to Attock, and also the branch from Rawal Pindi to Kohát.

The outbreak at Kabul was followed, two days later by a mutiny of the troops stationed at Herat, attended with the murder of Fakir Ahmed, the Military Governor, said to be a staunch partisan of the Amir.

As regards the attitude of the Amir, the greatest diversity of opinion has prevailed. The view of the majority of persons is probably that he instigated the revolt; others consider that, if he did not actually do this, he, at all events, acquiesced in it, by purposely abstaining from doing what he might have done to suppress it. A third view of his conduct is, that he was paralysed by the outbreak and shut himself up in his palace, instead of exerting himself to restore order, out of sheer nervelessness. His own contention, that he was actually powerless, is received with general suspicion, and his statement that he was besieged seems at least, as regards the earlier part of the day, inconsistent with the circumstance that he was able to send several of his officials and his own son at different times to the scene of the catastrophe.

The theory of his complicity in the revolt appears to us to be incompatible with the entire course of events taken together from first to last; and the almost simultaneous mutiny at Herat favours the inference that the causes of the outbreak, whatever they may have been, were far removed from Kabul. The probability seems to be that, though, with whatever prospect of success, he might have done more than he did to save the Embassy, his failure was the result rather of want of courage and capacity than of malice prepense.

It would be premature at the present moment to discuss the future policy of the Government in detail. It is certain, however, that it must be such as to secure the complete pacification of Afghanistan, and make permanent provision for the maintenance of order throughout the country in the future; and that for this purpose prolonged military occupation of the capital and the principal strategical points in the country, if not its annexation, will be necessary. In all probability, Kandahar will, in any case, be definitively annexed, and a cantonment established at Kushi.

NOTE TO THE ARTICLE
ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA.

WE have been requested by the writer of the article on the North-Western Frontier of India to state that the article was printed before the late disaster at Kabul, but that deplorable event, in no degree, affects the views expressed in it:—*viz.*, that it is from Herat and Kandahar, rather than from Kabul, that India's real danger threatens; that the maintenance of British prestige in the North of the Amir's dominions is mainly valuable as affecting the power of the Empire on the West; and that the time is one which eminently requires united counsels and a firm statement of a resolute programme.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India: to wit, Hindi, Panjabi, Scindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya and Bengali. By John Beames, B. C. S., Fellow of the University of Calcutta, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, the German Oriental Society, etc. Vol. III. *The Verb.* London : Trübner & Co.

THIS volume, which deals with the verb and the particle, worthily concludes Mr. Beames' great work on the modern Aryan languages of India.

Being highly technical, it does not easily lend itself to the purposes of the reviewer. The first chapter treats of verbal stems. The next three chapters deal with the tenses, of which the author proposes a new classification, based on structure, instead of signification, into simple, participial and compound.

"The tenses of the modern verb," he remarks, "fall naturally into three classes or grades, and it is surprising that so patent a fact has not been noticed by any of the grammar-writers. It is impossible to give, as some writers do, a fixed number for the tenses in any of our languages, for the combinations are almost infinite; but a broad, general classification would, one might suppose, have suggested itself to the most mechanical compiler. The grammar-writers, however, including even authors so superior to the general run as Trumpp and Kellogg, have been, for the most part, led away by giving their attention, in the first place, if not exclusively, to the *meanings* of the various tenses. This practice has led them to lose sight of the primary idea as evolved out of the *structure* of each tense. Had the structure been first considered, it would have been easy to discover which of the many conventional senses of a given tense was its primary and legitimate one, and by adhering to this process, a more simple and natural classification of tenses would have been arrived at.

"Kellogg does, indeed, clearly grasp the principles of the structure of the Hindi verb, but he is too metaphysical in his considerations about the meaning of each tense, and has adopted a phraseology which cannot but prove bewildering to the student, and which scientific linguists are not likely to adopt.

"In Sindhi Trumpp divides the verb into simple and compound tenses. The simple present is by him called the potential, though he

is well aware of the fact that it is really the old Sanskrit present indicative, and in his philological notes duly recognizes the fact. His classification is sufficient for Sindhi, though it would hardly cover all the tenses in the cognate languages. As usual, he is, in this respect, much in advance of all other grammar-writers on the modern languages. In the Grammars of Gujarati, Marathi, and Oriya the same distinction between simple and compound tenses is preserved, though in many cases erroneously worked out.

"It appears to me, however, that for purposes of comparison between all the languages of this group, a finer distinction still is required, and I would suggest a threefold division, which it will be my business in the following pages to substantiate and describe in detail.

"First, there are the simple tenses,—exact modern equivalents of corresponding tenses in the Sanskrit and Prakrit verb, whose form is due to the ordinary processes of phonetic change and development, and in which the old synthetic structure, though very much abraded, is still distinctly traceable.

"Secondly, the participial tenses, formed from participles of the Sanskrit verb, used either alone, or with fragments of the Sanskrit substantive verb, worked into and amalgamated with them so as to, form in each case one word only. In the latter case these tenses have a pseudo-synthetic appearance, though the principle on which they are formed is really analytical.

"Thirdly, compound tenses, in which the base is a participle with an auxiliary verb added to it, but not incorporated into it, each person of each tense thus consisting of two words in juxtaposition."

In the class of compound verbs, we see, Mr. Beames includes the numerous forms in which two independent verbal stems are linked together to express one complex idea. "In such a combination," he says, "the first verb remains unchanged, and all the work of conjugation is performed by the second, which acts, so to speak, as a handmaid to the first. For this second verb I have thought it advisable to employ the term 'ancillary,' as expressing more clearly than any other that occurs to me, the actual relation between the two. The ancillary verb differs from the auxiliary, in that the former runs through all the tenses of the verb, and the principal verb on which it waits, remains unchanged, while the latter only forms certain specified tenses in composition with several parts of the principal verb, being attached now to the present, now to the past or future participle. Thus, the tenses formed by the aid of auxiliaries are integral portions of the primary simple verb. In the case of the ancillary, on the other hand, it, together with the principal verb, forms in fact a new verb, which, though consisting of two elements, must be regarded for conjugational purposes as essentially one throughout. Thus, the elements *mār* 'strike

and *dāl*. 'throw,' combine into the compound verb *mār dālnā* 'to kill,' which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of *dālnā*. *mār* remain unchanged.

Grammarians have invented many strange names for these verbs with ancillaries, calling them Frequentatives, Inceptives, Permissives, Acquisitives, and many other ives. It would, perhaps, be simpler not to seek to invent names for all, or any of them, but merely to note the combinations that exist, with their meanings. Indeed, it is hardly possible to group them into classes, because, in practice, some ancillaries may be combined with any verb in the language, while others again can only be combined with one or two specific verbs. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that a verb with an ancillary runs through the whole range of tenses, for some ancillaries are only employed in one tense, or in two tenses; thus *lag*, in Hindi, is usually only employed in the past tense, as *kalne lagā* 'he began to say.' Some, again, are found in only one tense in one language, while they may be used in several tenses in another language.

The subject is a very wide one, for, the number of primary verbal stems in the seven languages being small, they are driven to express complicated ideas by combining two of them together. They have also lost the facility of expressing such ideas which is possessed by most original Aryan languages, through the *upasargas*, or prepositions, and can no longer develop from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing *pra*, *abhi*, *upa*, or *sam*. Under such circumstances they have taken a number of their commonest verbs and tacked them on the other verbs, in order to imply that the action expressed by the principal verb is performed under the conditions expressed by the added, or, as we may call it, the ancillary verb. As might be expected, however, while the principle is the same in all seven languages, the method of its application, and the particular ancillaries used, differ, to some extent, in the several languages. It will be better to take each ancillary separately, exhibiting the general effect of each as combined with different parts of the principal verb."

A very interesting account of this highly characteristic, and to our thinking, expressive class of verbs follows.

Chapter V deals with verbal forms not included in the above, and Chapter VI with the particle.

A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion Geography, History, and Literature. By John Dowson, M.R.A.S. Late Professor of Hindustani, Staff-College, London : Trübner & Co.

WITHIN the narrow scope to which Professor Dowson has limited this Classical Dictionary, it may fairly be considered

to meet the requirements of the ordinary European reader. At the same time we can hardly think that it either fulfils the promise of the title, or gives more than a fragmentary view of a subject which can only be philosophically treated as a whole. In short, what the author has compiled is rather a classical dictionary of the Vedic period than of Hinduism. Even the mythology and legends of the Puranas are very imperfectly dealt with, and the modern Hindu system is almost completely ignored. In his preface, Professor Dowson speaks of Mr. Garrett's "Classical Dictionary" as of a very miscellaneous character, and embracing a good deal of matter relating to the manners and customs of the present time; but a classical dictionary of Hinduism must necessarily be of a very miscellaneous character, and, though an exhaustive cyclopaedia, even of the Hindu Pantheon alone, was neither to be expected nor perhaps desired, we question whether a living religion can be profitably treated apart from its later developments.

From one passage in his introduction it would almost seem as if Professor Dowson considered that the chief importance of Hinduism consisted in its bearing on the problems of comparative mythology, a view of the matter which we cannot help regarding as a mistake.

In some important points, too, Professor Dowson's work is disappointingly meagre. Take, for instance, the article on the Schools of Hindu Philosophy, from which we defy the reader to obtain anything approaching a definite view of the tenets held by the Schools, however summary.

The Light of Asia or the great Renunciation (Mahābhinishkramaṇa). Being the Life and Teaching of Gautama, Prince of India and Founder of Buddhism, as told in Verse by an Indian Buddhist. By Edwin Arnold, M. A., F. R. G. S., etc. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1879.

IF Mr. Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia" is unlikely to contribute much towards a clear conception of Buddhism as a philosophic system, it may fairly be expected to lead to juster ideas of its value as a moral agent. The average Christian will very probably rise from the perusal of this poetical account of the life and teachings of Gautama without being convinced of the practical efficiency of the motive to righteousness supplied in the belief inculcated by him; but few unbiased persons can, we should think, accept it as a true account, without feeling that the moral teachings of the great sage are such as, if followed, make for righteousness in the highest sense, as between man and man. The fact that nearly half the human race are followers of the Buddhist

religion ceases to excite surprise when it is seen how admirably adapted is its ethical system to the needs of humanity. Mr. Arnold's poem places this aspect of the gentlest of the creeds in a very striking light.

In some respects, indeed, the author's presentation of the subject is, perhaps, not altogether a fair one. He speaks in his preface, for instance, of Buddhism as having in it "the eternity of a universal hope, the immortality of a boundless love, an indestructible element of faith in final good, and the proudest assertion ever made of human freedom." He should have explained the nature of the "final good" to which the Buddhist looks forward,—absorption in the Universal Soul, or Brahma. Such, at least, is the view of "Nirvana" to be gathered from the poem itself. From a remark made in another part of his preface it would indeed appear, that between this "final good" and the annihilation which, according to the popular belief, the Buddhist regards as the *summum bonum*, Mr. Arnold finds a distinction. He says:—"The views, however, here indicated of "Nirvana," "Dharma," "Karina," and the other chief features of Buddhism are at least the fruits of considerable study, and also of a firm conviction that a third of mankind would never have been brought to believe in blank abstractions, or in nothingness as the issue and crown of Being." Surely, however, Mr. Arnold would admit that if a third of mankind, accepting the doctrine of absorption, have been brought to find in it a prospect differing in any way, as regards themselves, from simple extinction, then a-third of mankind have been brought under the influence of a delusion explicable only by their incapacity to understand the subject. As far as the individual is concerned, the cessation of separate consciousness and annihilation are one and the same thing.

That Buddhism has preserved its hold on so large a proportion of mankind in spite of the fact that the reward held out by it is thus a phantom which, from its nature, must vanish in the act of realisation, is due partly to such an incapacity in its votaries, and partly to the circumstance that the influence of a religion is determined much more by its practical value as a rule of life than by the conceptions of a future existence embodied in it.

As a literary effort, Mr. Arnold's work deserves high praise. The verse is smooth and sweet, and the narrative is full of human interest. It is difficult to quote from it usefully. One passage we find which is at once brief and self-contained. It runs—

More is the treasure of the Law than gems ;
Sweeter than comb its sweetness ; its delights
Delightful past compare. Thereby to live

Hear the *Five Rules* aright :—
 Kill not—for Pity's sake—and lest ye slay
 The meanest thing upon its upward way.
 Give freely and receive, but take from none
 By greed, or force or fraud, what is his own.
 Bear not false witness, slander not, nor lie;
 Truth is the speech of inward purity.
 Shun drugs and drinks which work the wit abuse ;
 Clear minds, clean bodies, need no Sôma juice.
 Touch not they neighbour's wife, neither commit
 Sins of the flesh unlawful and unfit.

The following, bearing on the doctrine of Nirvana, may also be detached from its setting without much loss of sense :—

The Books say well, my Brothers ! each man's life
 The outcome of his former living is ;
 The bygone wrongs bring forth sorrows and woes,
 The bygone right breeds bliss.
 That which ye sow ye reap. See yonder fields !
 The sesamum was sesamum, the corn
 Was corn. The Silence and the Darkness knew !
 So is a man's fate born.
 He cometh, reaper of the things he sowed,
 Sesamum, corn, so much cast in past birth ;
 And so much weed and poison-stuff, which mar
 Him and the aching earth.
 If he shall labour rightly, rooting these,
 And planting wholesome seedlings where they grew,
 Fruitful and fair and clean the ground shall be,
 And rich the harvest due.
 If he who liveth, learning whence woe springs,
 Endureth patiently, striving to pay
 His utmost debt for ancient evils done
 In Love and Truth alway ;
 If making none to lack, he thoroughly purge
 The lie and lust of self forth from his blood ;
 Suffering all meekly, rendering for offence
 Nothing but grace and good :
 If he shall day by day dwell merciful,
 Holy and just and kind and true ; and rend
 Desire from where it clings with bleeding roots,
 Till love of life have end :

He—dying—leaveth as the sum of him
 A life-count closed, whose ills are dead and quit,
 Whose good is quick and mighty, far and near,
 So that fruits follow it.

No need hath such to live as ye name life ;
 That which began in him when he began
 Is finished : he hath wrought the purpose through
 Of what did make him Man.

Never shall yearnings torture him, nor sins
 Stain him, nor ache of earthly joys and woes
 Invade his safe eternal peace ; nor deaths
 And lives recur. He goes

Unto NIRVANA. He is one with Life
 Yet lives not. He is blest, ceasing to be.
 OM, MANI PADME, OM ! the Dewdrop slips
 Into the shining sea !

The Romance of Crime ; or, India versus Europe. Being a series of interesting, instructive and amusing Narratives of Crime and Criminals in India, where Ingenuity, Cunning, Adroitness, Subtlety and Daring on the part of the Criminal are especially apparent, and the "Ruse-de-guerre" resorted to by the Detective to out-manœuvre him and bring him to justice. By R. Reid, late Superintendent, Calcutta Detective Police Force. In three Parts :—Part I. Calcutta : Thos. S. Smith, City Press, 12 Bentinck Street : 1879.

THE literary workmanship of Mr. Reid's pamphlet, though not free from defects, does its author great credit. His style, if not always accurate, is graphic and worthy of a better cause ; but this is all we can say in praise of the work, which, in spite of the fustian morality dragged in by the head and shoulders at every opportunity, is calculated to do much more harm than good.

Highly spiced *rechauffés* of stale crimes, however well they may serve to stimulate morbid appetites, are not calculated to improve the moral health of the public ; while Mr. Reid's late colleagues in the detective department will scarcely thank him for adding to their difficulties in the future by exposing their *modus operandi* in the past.

Principles of the Algebra of Logic with Examples. By Alexander Macfarlane, M A., D. Sc. (Edin.), F.R.S.E.

MR. Macfarlane's *Algebra of Logic* displays profound ingenuity, but strikes us nevertheless as a great waste of power. It does not follow, because logical processes concerning quality can be represented in algebraical form, that anything is to be gained by so representing them. We are persuaded that nothing, is to be gained by such a translation from ordinary to symbolic language, and Mr. Macfarlane's work only confirms this conviction.

The Holy Week and the Forty Days ; being a continuous Narrative in the Words of the Evangelists, constructed from the Four Gospels. With a Commentary and Appendices. By the Rev. G. F. Popham Blyth, M.A., Senior Chaplain, H. M. Indian (Bengal) Service ; Chaplain to the Earl of Kimberley. In two volumes. London : W. Skeffington and Son, 163 Piccadilly. 1879.

IN this book Mr. Popham Blyth has given his readers a harmonised narrative of the events of the Holy Week and Forty days as related by the Evangelists ; a more expanded narrative of the same events, based on the same testimony, with explanatory remarks and appropriate reflections, supplemented by copious notes, and an appendix, consisting of a series of elaborate notes, in which a mass of information from various sources is brought to bear on the text, and a variety of interesting questions arising out of it are discussed.

Of criticism from an independent stand-point, Mr. Blyth's work contains but little. His point of view is, that it is of more importance to place the historical facts and their interpretation before the reader, than to bespeak his faith for any particular doctrinal application of them.

"The Scripture writers deal not with doctrines, but with occurrences. The revelation given to us may, as Butler observes, be considered wholly historical" (Rawlinson, "Hist. Illust. of O. T."). The principle of interpretation based upon this view is a sound one. Though we may not neglect the spiritual interpretation of Scripture by any means, yet that of many commentators of modern date, whose aim, to state it broadly, appears to be the extraction of something about our Lord from every verse in the Bible, is scarcely one which would throw much light on Holy Scripture ; and is certainly one little in consonance with the present spirit of the age, which clings to facts, and loves to find in the experience of scholarship, science, and travel, incidental corroboration of such facts. Perhaps human aid towards the establishment of a saving faith (its foundation being of God) can be most effectively given in the advancement of Scriptural knowledge ; much is effected when any light is thrown upon Scripture history, antiquities, localities, and especially when lucid explanation and illustration are given of the literal meaning of the text.

The adoption of this as a primary principle of interpretation, necessitates our dependence (and the reliance is a safe one) upon the Holy Spirit Himself, rather than on any human assistance, for the unveiling of the inner spiritual mysteries of the truth of God's word, and its personal application to the requirements of the individual soul. It is His special office and mission "to take of the things of Christ" (of which the Evangelists have told us in plain record), "and show them unto us" spiritually. He will impress their vital truth upon every mind which is sincere and teachable; under His guidance, even "the wayfaring man, though a fool" (as to the world's wisdom), "may not err therein." And certainly, every scholar who studies the historical truth, and the exact meaning of the text of God's word, in order to believe with the heart, or to strengthen his faith, "shall be taught of God;" such a reader will not fall into the danger of believing with the head, and not with the heart. Meanwhile the whole light of modern discovery, science, criticism, and every kind of knowledge, may be profitably brought to bear upon the interpretation and illustration of the text.

From this mode of treatment, however, he is continually led away on most important points.

In the notes, which are full of valuable information, Mr. Blyth occasionally displays a tendency to embark in perilous speculations. We should have supposed that the question raised in the following note, on the Necessity of Death to Man, was pre-eminently one as regards which there was no middle course between literal acceptance of the declaration of Scripture as an inscrutable mystery and its literal rejection. Mr. Blyth himself concludes with the admission that the points discussed cannot be decided; and we should have thought that, to any one holding this view, their discussion would have seemed worse than futile.

It might be an interesting subject of inquiry (though the data must be insufficient, and the merest digest of authors, scientific and theological, voluminous), whether death would be a necessity to the bodies of men; whether, had Adam remained unfallen, the death which was passed as a penalty, might have ensued through natural causes.

It is certain that death was present in the world before our era, as may be gathered from the various remains, fossil and other, which have come down to us; and therefore, if death could affect animal life, might it not have affected the animal life of man? Could the body of man necessarily have withstood the many accidents incidental to residence on earth? Would not a falling tree, a land-slip, a falling rock, have utterly crushed and destroyed life, as it must have mutilated the body? Could it ever have been possible to such a body as ours to live in water, to withstand fire, to exist in entire vitiation of air? Could it, supposing its accidental prevention from obtaining food, have lived on without natural food? And the possibility of dangers and accidents such as these, or similar in effect to them, may have lurked in the groves, amidst the rivers, and in the glades of the plain of Eden. This body of ours was not a spiritual body before Christ, the first Adam of the resurrection of life; it had the limitations, and was subject to the laws, of bodies formed from "the dust of the earth." Does not the very necessity of eating argue a necessity of replenishing vital powers; and therefore, in the failure of proper food, a possibility of death? Could it

ever have been possible to man to distil from the herbarium of earth, which formed his original grant of food (Gen. i. 29), the elixir of immortal life?

It may have been, however, one of the privileges bestowed on those whom God created in His own image and likeness, to be exempt from the action of the law of death. There was around them, we know, the protection of ministering spirits. "The tree of life in the midst of the garden" of Eden, may have had properties which were necessary for the sustentation of life even there; or was a sacramental emblem, as the ancient writers thought of, such a gift. At any rate, the fact of there being such a tree, endowed with the properties ascribed to it, is suggestive of immortality not being naturally inherent in man's body, but dependent on the use of some gift of God external to himself, and dependent on the will of God.

It is declared distinctly and invariably in Holy Scripture, that death came into the world by sin, and that "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned"; but we can scarcely argue from this that man's body must otherwise have been endued with immortality, and that it could not possibly have become subject to death.

It seems that man's body was not in itself suitable for existence in the heaven of heavens, amongst the inhabitants of the spirit world. Before he could be admitted into another state of being beyond earth, he must be "*translated*" (whatever change that word expresses) by the power of God. Enoch and Elijah, that we know of, were thus *translated*, because they pleased God. The change to the spiritual body of the resurrection may have passed upon them, either in anticipation of, or, far more likely, after our Lord's resurrection; at any rate, they retained their bodies of earth without losing them by death. It appears, however, that before Christ's entrance into heaven, they had not ascended up into heaven; and must therefore have remained embodied, amongst the disembodied saints of the world of saved spirits. (See Essay, "The Descent into Hell.")

We see from their case that it need not follow that man *must* die. The longevity of the antediluvian world proves that considerable limits of extension could be assigned to the bodily life, even after its subjection to the law of death; what may not, therefore, have been possible before the entrance of that mortal law? It is enough, however, to ask if man *could* be mortal before Adam fell; whether it was his privilege to escape death by "translation" in God's time; and whether his punishment was his subjection to a natural law, to which it had been his happy destiny to be superior; or was it a new law, to which his unfallen nature could not possibly, under any circumstances, have been subjected?

Does not Christ's death further suggest the exercise of a law always *possible* to our animal body? Our Lord's body was not mortal by Adam's sentence; yet, at His permission (permission, we gather from Holy Scripture, not compulsion), it experienced natural death; and at His will passed under the action of the law now universally reigning in the world. In all things connected with His human body, we find our Lord subject to the will of the father, dependent on His preservation, and obedient to His rules of life, and, finally, "obedient unto death."

It is declared that life and immortality were brought to light, by our Saviour Jesus Christ, through the Gospel (2 Tim. i. 10)—a statement which suggests powerfully that these were not previously necessary conditions and properties of the body of man; they may have been gifts destined and held in reserve for him, but, even in his unfallen state, his by necessity of being. He had an immortal soul; but was it not always, for residence on earth, the tenant of a body to which mortality was possible?

We cannot decide these points, which neither revelation has unveiled, nor

science can certify to us. We may, however, be permitted to suppose that death *might* have befallen man (even as now it *must*) ; but that the law of man's access to heaven would probably have been by "translation" in God's good time ; and that then, by God's gift, he could have been endowed with a more abundant life than that of his earthly sojourn—with, in fact, the spiritual life which Christ "brought to light," and which became revealed to him from the date of the resurrection of Christ, who reversed, and more than reversed, the sentence which had passed on the human race through the fall of Adam ; that, in short, unlike the existence of the soul, immortality of the body must always have been the special gift of God, even as now we are told the crowning blessing and "gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The Turks in India. Critical Chapters on the Administration of that Country by the Chughtai, Babar, and his descendants. By Henry George Keene, M. R. A. S., Judge of Agra ; Fellow of the University of Calcutta, and Author of "The Mughal Empire." London : W. H. Allen and Co.

LIKE every thing that comes from Mr. Keene's pen, this work on the rule of the Mughals in Indian is instinct with interest of the highest order. Bringing to his task great critical acumen, and a thoroughly philosophic spirit, united to a large measure of the scientific imagination necessary for the discovery of all but the most superficial historical relations, he not only re-creates for us the atmosphere of the period which he depicts, but takes us behind the scenes and shows us the hidden springs on which its movements depend. By confining his attention to such things as affected the welfare of the people and their social and intellectual development, he has succeeded in at once keeping his canvas free from the bewildering complexity of detail which has done so much to render Indian history repulsive and unintelligible, and presenting us with what is really of deepest and most abiding interest. We cannot better describe the scope of Mr. Keene's work than by quoting the account of it given by him in his preface. "These chapters," he says, "cover the time from the invasion of Bábar to the death of Alamgir II., and the campaign of 1760-1. An attempt has been made to show the state of the country under Mughal rule, and the reasons why, with many good qualities, the House of Taimur ultimately failed to form a durable dominion. The first article is devoted to a summary of the subject of the whole study. The second gives a brief account of the origin of the family, and the first foundation of their power south of the Himála Alps. The third displays the consolidation ; the fourth and fifth exhibit the equilibrium ; the sixth describes the beginnings of weakness. In the seventh and eighth are shown the hastening decomposition of the

unwieldy and ill-governed Empire; while the account of the Campaign of Pánapat furnishes matter for the ninth and last."

In tracing the genesis of that "combination of refined manners, brave promise and faineant fulfilment, that has been the infirmity of Turks everywhere," and has always, sooner or later, incapacitated them for successful empire, Mr. Keene assigns the largest share of influence to their demoralising zenana system.

"Customs," he truly observes, "are more than blood, or even climate. The antagonism between Darius and Miltiades is still active. It is not merely a matter of longitude, for Muscovy is, for the most part, east of Mecca, and Morocco lies to the west of Madrid. It is not territorial, for some of the so-called "Europeans" live in Asia and America; some of the so-called "Asiatics" live in Africa and Europe. It is not ethnological, for some of the best races on either side spring from the same stocks. The Tájik Persians are of kin to the Prussians. The Magyárs are Tartars by origin. When chased through all these disguises Proteus is there still, as real as ever, though as difficult of identification. Perhaps it may best be described by saying, that there is a gulf fixed between races coming from mothers versed in business, and races springing from secluded and undeveloped females." * * *

"Certain it is that the founders of what is called the 'Mughal Empire' were in a peculiar manner subject to this depressing influence. It may be granted that they were descended from the free barbarian nomads of the steppes, the habitual raiders and slave-hunters, even in our own days still wandering and robbing, who in the days of Changez (or Jenghez) Khán exercised a sway of devastation over a tract of country extending from the banks of the Vistula to the shores of the Japanese archipelago. But their wives were no longer found among conterminous tribes of kindred habits. With a Turanian origin they had, in the third generation from Changez Khán, begun to follow the faith of Islám, and to take as wives or concubines girls entirely or mainly of Aryan blood, often captured in predatory excursions." * * *

"All *zanána* life must be bad for men at all stages of their existence. In infancy and in boyhood it must be injurious to be tended with the unreasoning ignorance and weak indulgence of a mother knowing nothing, and consulting with female dependents weaker and more untruthful than herself. In youth it must be ruin to be petted and spoiled by a company of submissive slave girls. In manhood it is a no less evil, that when a man retires into private life, his affections should be put up to auction among foolish, foul competitors, full of mutual jealousies and slanders." * * *

"All really great and good men have been ever ready to acknowledge the obligations that they have owed to their mothers. A wise and cultured mother makes her son participator in all the best qualities of her nature by the twofold channel of blood and breeding. Born with the love of truth and freedom interwoven in his tissues, he shows them daily developing under her forming hand.

"But the sons of such mothers as Turks have often had, must necessarily have lacked both these kinds of advantage. Among the peasantry, where a man can afford only one wife, and where she has to join his outdoor employments, the birth and training of the young will proceed much as elsewhere; but among the families of the rich, the sons of secluded slave mothers must needs be deficient in those attributes that are feminine in the best sense. Equally necessary is it that they should exhibit those qualities of woman's unchastened nature which form her foible and discredit. And this, accordingly, is what we find. While the son of the well-born Russian or Hungarian (though with much Turanian blood) gains as much from one parent as from the other, and is in all points as deserving of respect as the purest Aryan,—the Turk, and the Circassian (though the latter be pure Aryan on both sides), mostly show nothing of their mothers but faults, and never become quite civilised. When they are brave, it is from fatalism inspired by impulse. Their ability shows itself in cabals, lies, and ruthless intrigue; their taste inclines to extravagance and ostentation. They love bodily pleasures, are facile, indolent, living *au jour le jour*. The traits in which they are wanting are mainly those in which the ladies of Christendom usually excel—perseverance, method; the power of resisting or shaping events, and of constructing and carrying out the efficient administration of details. Where the sons of free and instructed women make and maintain calm, far-seeing, beneficent arrangements, those of the Turk are for the most part thoughtless, procrastinative, and without system."

Mr. Keene's work is eminently quotable, as well as readable. There is scarcely a page in it that does not contain something that will appeal even to the least cultivated sympathies. What Anglo-Indian, for instance, will not experience a certain satisfaction in reading the verdict of Bábar on the amenities of Indian civilisation, or will not feel himself drawn by it nearer to its imperial author.

"The Emperor Babar, accustomed to the very moderate civilisation of Central Asia, found his newly-acquired country almost intolerable. Admitting the abundance of resources and the many good gifts of nature which Hindustan possessed, he disliked the

life almost as much as the most fastidious English exile of the present day.

'The people,' he said, 'have no idea of the charms of friendly society . . . or of familiar intercourse. They have neither genius, intelligence, politeness, kindness, ingenuity, invention, skill, or knowledge of the arts. You cannot even get a decent light at night. The greatest man, if he wants to see by night, has to call in a filthy fellow with a torch, who stands close to his employer all the time that he is using the light. The peasants and lower classes go about nearly naked. They tie on a thing that they call a 'loin-cloth,' and the ends of this knotted clout are all that they have to cover them.'

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is that on the Institutes of Akbar. Very skilfully Mr. Keene traces the development of that great, and withal eccentric, monarch's character; the effect of his Hindu matrimonial alliance, on which perhaps he hardly lays sufficient stress; of his intercourse with Europeans; of Faizí; of the witty, the philosophical, the broad minded Abul Fazl. We select for quotation his account of Akbar's attempt to establish an eclectic religion:

But a higher ambition than that of mere material sovereignty was rising in the emperor's breast. He desired to be the leader of men's opinions also. Not by force—no one was ever persecuted during his reign for mere opinion, and many of his friends maintained their own convictions without losing favour—but because he knew that he saw clearer than most men into the conditions of spiritual well-being, and desired to impart his freedom to others; a generous dream! Abul Fuzl was at hand, with his strange mixture of imagination, good sense and wit, to minister to this desire. In 1579, the question was openly mooted at the Thursday* evening meetings. European readers can imagine it by thinking of the somewhat similar movement then going on in England, by which the sovereign became supreme Head of the Church; only the Indian attempt was higher and less purely political. 'Thus' sneers the orthodox Budaoni, 'a faith based on some elementary principles, traced itself on the mirror of his Majesty's heart . . . the conviction that there were sensible men in all religions, moderate thinkers and men with miraculous powers among all nations.' And it became his object to spread such a belief. His large charity as a man was warmed and kindled by his enthusiasm as the father of an alien people—

'On learning further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, he began to look upon them with affection . . . The differences among the Moslem doctors . . . furnished his Majesty with another reason for apostacy . . . Learned monks came from Europe, bringing the gospel . . . His majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion . . . and charged Abul Fuzl to translate the New Testament . . . Birbal impressed upon the emperor that the sun was the primary origin of everything . . . Fire-worshippers also had come from . . . Gujarát, and proved to his Majesty the truth of the Zoroastrian doctrine . . . who ordered Abul Fuzl to arrange that sacred fire should be kept burning night and day after the manner of the ancient Kings of Persia.'

* So Blochmann; but Abul Fuzl says "Friday," which is perhaps more likely, as Friday is the Moslem Sabbath.

At last, in September 1589, appeared a covenant intended to reconcile these various tenets in an eclectic faith, of which the emperor should be High Priest and controlling authority. Swayed, no doubt, by fears of ridicule and by the hope of future peace, many of the learned and highly placed Mussulman doctors signed this strange document—"unique, says Professor Blochmann, in the "History of the Mohamadan Church"—of which the purport is abstracted in "Dowson" (Vol. v. p. 382)—

'We have decreed and do decree that the rank of a Just Ruler is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Chief of the Law*. Further we declare that the Sultan of Islam, &c. &c., Abu 'l Fath Jalaul 'd Din Mohamad Akbar, Padshah Ghazi, is a most just, wise, pious king. Therefore, if there be a variance among the doctors upon religious questions, and his Majesty . . . should give his decree for the benefit of mankind . . . we do hereby agree that such decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation. Further, we declare that, should his Majesty, in his wisdom, issue an order (not being in opposition to the Koran) for the benefit of the people, it shall be binding and imperative on everyone ; opposition to it being punished with damnation in the world to come, excommunication and ruin in the present life.*

In spite of the traces of compromise, the compliments to Islam, which linger in the text and preamble (not given above) one sees that this was the covenant of a new creed. In pursuance of it the Emperor proceeded in state to the great Mosque of Fathipur already mentioned, and mounted the pulpit for the purpose of conducting the service. The inaugural hymn, composed for the purpose by Faizi, was to the following effect :—

"The Lord to me the kingdom gave,
He made me wise, and strong, and brave,
Ho girdeth me in right and ruth,
Filling my mind with love of truth ;
No praise of man can sum his state—
Allahu Akbar ! God is great."

But the emotions aroused by the scene were too much for the overstrung nerves that never flinched before the enemy. The heart that had been calm in every danger now beat too fast ; the voice that rang above the din of battle now broke, like a girl's. The imperial apostle had to descend from his elevation before he had articulated the first three lines. The rest of the service was entrusted to the court chaplain.

The new system, called the Divine Faith, appears to have been a kind of eclectic monotheism. No complete summary of the tenets has been preserved ; it probably contained more practice than doctrine. Even in Budaoni's pessimist account, one traces the germs of much social and political reform. All food was lawful, so that excess was avoided. Prostitution was licensed and taxed, seduction punished. Youthful marriage was forbidden, polygamy reprobated. *Sati* (widow burning) could only take place by the undoubted and persistent desire of the victim. The *Hijra* era was discontinued, and official computations dated from the year of Akbar's accession ; the solar year and months of the ancient Persians being restored to use. Strange to say, the new system found more favour among Moslems than among Hindus, although the prejudices of the latter were much deferred to. Out of eighteen recorded members of the elect, only one, Birbal, is a Hindu. The rest are poets, historians, and a few lawyers, all of the conquering class. Todar Mal and the emperor's brother-in-law, Raja Bhagwán Dás, positively refused to join, but Akbar showed no resentment.

* Blochmann's "Ain Akbari," vol. i. p. 186.

So long as the emperor lived, the results of his religion had some vitality, though its absolute profession was thus limited. It led to an indiscriminate employment of persons of all creeds and classes in the public service, regard being had only to their merits. This example is even stated to have spread to Persia. In 1587, fresh edicts were issued, among others one containing the rule, "One God, and one wife." Causes between Hindus were not to be taken before Moslem judges, but to be decided by pundits appointed for the purpose, who, no doubt, administered the Hindu law. In the following year Akbar tried to convert Máu Sinh, the nephew, adopted son, and successor of Rāja Bhagwán Dás. The spirited rajput answered, "If joining your Majesty's school only means willingness to sacrifice life, I think I have already given sufficient proof that I am a faithful follower. But I am a Hindu; your Majesty does not ask me to become a Mussulman. I know of no third faith." The emperor pressed him no more. Other regulations continued to be issued, and converts made; the last notice of such things being in 1596.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Asrumati Nataka. By the author of *Puru-vikram* and *Sarojini Natakas*. Printed and published by Kali Kinkar Chakravarti, at the Valmiki Press. Calcutta, 1286 B. S.

THIS is certainly an interesting drama, of which the clue has been taken from the story of Pratáp Sing, Rana of Mewar, as told in Tod's history of Rajasthan. General Maun Sing, whilst returning from the conquest of Sholapur, gets himself invited to a dinner at the residence of Pratáp Sing. Pratáp Sing, however, keeps himself away, pretending a headache, when his distinguished guest sits down to eat. This is noticed by Maun Sing, who rises from his meal in anger, saying he understands the real cause of his host's absence. Pratáp Sing comes in and plainly tells him he cannot disgrace himself by being present at the dining place of one who has brought infamy on himself and the great Rajput name by marrying his sister to a Turk. High words, angry menaces, proud defiances pass between the two illustrious chiefs. Leaving his meal almost untouched, Maun Sing departs in anger and reports the occurrence to his master, Akbar, who at once sends an expedition under his son Selim to humble the pride of Pratáp. Selim and Pratáp meet at Huldighát, rightly called by Colonel Tod the Thermopylæ of Mewar. After a glorious struggle Pratáp is defeated, loses his dominions, and becomes a wanderer and refugee among the aboriginal Bhils in the Aravali hills. Whilst residing there in the greatest poverty and mental dejection, his daughter, Asrumati, is secretly carried off to the Moghul camp at the instigation of Maun Sing, by the commander of a small army corps, named Ferid Khan, who desires to take, and has been induced by Maun Sing to regard, her as a prize for the success of his adventure. His ruffianly look and gestures, however, frighten Asrumati, whose cries bring Selim to Ferid's tent. Selim becomes

angry at the capture of a girl not older than 14 or 15 ; upbraids even Maun Sing for advising a course of conduct so inhuman and inglorious ; and, on learning that the great Akbar has himself ordered the capture, leads her out of Ferid's tent and keeps her in a separate dwelling, under his own care and supervision. A warm and strong attachment springs up between Selim and his charming captive, which, however, excites grave apprehensions for the honour and purity of the royal house of Mewar in the mind of Sukta Sing, uncle of Asrumati, then residing in the Moghul camp. Sukta Sing tries to induce Asrumati to marry Prithwi-Raj, a prince of the house of Bikanir, following the Moghul standard as a reluctant vassal. Prithwi-Raj, who loves a girl of the name of Malinā, at first refuses to marry Asrumati, but a sight of her, in her private apartment, inflames him, and he seeks the help of Ferid for the accomplishment of his object. Ferid, who has a vile purpose of his own to execute, consents with Iago-like duplicity, to serve Prithwi-Raj, whilst in reality he represents to Selim every act and word of Prithwi-Raj in connection with Asrumati as a convincing proof of Prithwi-Raj's passion for Asrumati and Asrumati's want of fidelity to the great Moghul prince. The endeavours of Sukta Sing to prevent the infamous marriage, end in placing Asrumati in a position which, viewed in the light of Ferid's interpretation of it, gives rise to suspicion in Selim's mind. Yet Selim is unwilling to believe that Asrumati can be insincere. But Ferid goes further. He effects the interception of a very improper letter written by Prithwi-Raj to Asrumati, causes it to be shown to Selim, and thus brings about a catastrophe in which he pays the penalty of his villany with his own life. At dead of night, Prithwi-Raj comes out of Asrumati's house, ashamed and confounded, on seeing there his rejected Malinā ; and, anxious, to effect a reconciliation, Asrumati, with her unfortunate companion, follows Prithwi-Raj out of her house. They are all observed by Selim, who at once kills Prithwi-Raj and strikes Asrumati with a dagger. Asrumati falls insensible but does not die. Malinā admonishes Selim for suspecting Asrumati, and Sukta Sing comes in running, with an intercepted letter which convinces Selim that Ferid's conduct has been a tissue of villany from beginning to end. Selim kills Ferid, Malinā takes away the cold corpse of her beloved Prithwi-Raj to *smashān* or burning ground, and Sukta Sing carries off Asrumati to her father Pratāp. The brave and patriotic Pratāp is now lying on his death bed in a small hut on the bank of the river Peshola. He is comforted by the testimony of his brother Sukta Sing that the blood of his family has not been polluted by Mussalman lust ; he commands Asrumati to become a religious devotee for life in order to wipe out the sin she has committed by

conceiving an improper attachment, and expires after receiving the assurance of his friends and councillors that no costly palace will be raised by his sons for regal luxury until the independence of Mewar is fully and firmly established. Asrumati, unable to wholly subdue her love, goes to a *smashán* not far from the Moghul camp dressed as a yogini, finds there the demented Maliná, worshipping and adorning the dead body of Prithwi-Raj with garlands of flowers, and on seeing Selim coming towards her, as towards her apparition, walks slowly away singing a song of sweet but eternal abjuration. Selim falls senseless.

This is a brief outline of the story of the drama. The question arises, whether the story is only one or a combination of two. The drama opens with the story of a war between Pratáp Sing and the Moghul emperor; towards its close, we find Pratáp Sing on his death bed, talking of the independence of Mewar, only partially re-established and wholly insecure. We are told very little about what happened in the interval between the loss of Mewar by Pratáp Sing and his partial recovery of it. The little that has been said on this point is only of an indirect nature, in which Pratáp appears neither as an actor nor as a sufferer. History tells us, however, that after his glorious defeat at Huldighát, Pratáp made a grand effort for the recovery of his dominions, which was eminently successful. What that effort was and how it succeeded the drama tells us not. It gives us but a hint about it. The story of Pratáp is not, therefore, the story of this drama; and yet it contains no inconsiderable portion of it. This is the gravest mistake committed by the author. He has violated the fundamental rule of dramatic composition which requires that each story taken up should be fully developed and worked out in all its essential parts. If he pleads that he has told the story of Huldighát simply as an introduction to the story of Asrumati, we answer that his procedure is not justified by any known rule of dramatic composition. A dramatic story requires no long or formal introduction; it should be so told as to contain within its own proper limits all that is required for its elucidation. Whenever a different course is adopted, the fundamental rule which demands simplicity of structure is violated, and consequences follow which dramatic art ought to condemn and avoid. For the introductory story raises expectations which remain unfulfilled, and the effect of the main story itself is therefore seriously impaired and diminished. In the present case, the author has not only given us a long introductory story, which he has left undeveloped, but made it a source of additional disappointment to the reader by adopting a motto on the title-page of his work which points to that as the main story of the drama

which is found in the end to be merely prefatory. The motto is this—"There is not a pass in the alpine Aravali that is not sanctioned by some deed of Pratáp—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Huldighát is the Thermopylæ of Méwar; the field of Déweir her Marathon (Tod's Rajasthan)." The whole of the first Act of the drama, as it now stands, is irrelevant and unnecessary. Its second Act should have been its first. There is another way of shewing that the story of Huldighát is a mistake. Our idea is that, when two stories are introduced in a drama, they ought to be so connected with, and dependent upon one another, that they may together form one indivisible plot. If there be no such connection between them, there is no reason why they should not form the subjects of two distinct dramas, instead of being merely placed side by side in one. Shakspeare, who should give the word of command in such cases, makes the story of the bond and the story of the caskets in the *Merchant of Venice*, inseparable parts of one indivisible plot. But in the drama before us, the story of Asrumati is, we may say, wholly independent of that of Pratáp—they do not at all influence one another. Indeed, we find Pratáp, in the last Act of the drama, when he has worked out the whole history of his life and is on his death bed, under the impression that Asrumati has been long since carried off and devoured by a tiger. Judge of the tremendous influence of Asrumati's history on the conduct and movements of Pratáp! The abduction of Asrumati leads to no action on the part of her father. Her father does nothing to alter or modify the course of events which we find narrated in connection with her. She does, indeed, become a life-long devotee by the command of Pratáp. But that is not until the real drama of her life has virtually closed—not until she has escaped from the situation which determines her place in the drama. The story of Asrumati would not have lacked dramatic completeness even if it had been without the ill-conceived scene in the last Act, where we find her still nourishing a sentiment which a loving and patriotic father had denounced in the last and most awful moment of his life as the shame and infamy of his race. We freely admit that there is in that scene much true and charming poetry, which we should have read with pleasure in any other place. Here, however, it serves only to diminish our interest in Asrumati by setting her forth as a person whose love is only another name for culpable weakness. True love, however deep and ardent, does not mean exclusive fondness. On the contrary, it may be said not only of love but of all virtuous and healthy affections of the heart, that they are healthy and virtuous simply by reason of their not excluding or injuring one

another. We never find Asrumati particularly anxious for her parents—no, not even when she is a captive in the Moghul camp. She is only a girl, not more than 14 or 15 years of age; and yet she has not one earnest thought or sentiment for those whom instinct should have taught her to hold in fond remembrance. But she is all for Selim! This Selim is not then a pure sentiment but an unholy passion. In the Moghul camp, however, the thing does not strike us very forcibly, because the very idea of an enemy's camp is associated with that of an enforced situation. But this little film does not exist in the last scene of all. And yet Asrumati is there, all full of sighs and sobs for her Selim, but without a tear for the poor father she has so lately lost! This is an exhibition of weakness—perhaps even of deformity—which the author could have avoided by not writing the last Act of his drama.

But is Asrumati's passion for Selim really unholy? No. Asrumati is really a sweet, simple, pure and honest little creature. We must freely confess that the author has achieved remarkable success in showing her off as a pattern of girlish delicacy, girlish tenderness, girlish sobriety, girlish amiability, girlish purity, and girlish softness. Asrumati feels and speaks like a disembodied spirit: There is nothing gross in her or about her. When Selim questions her sincerity, she protests, but her protests look like gentle appeals, or rather, gentlest prayers. When Selim threatens to kill her, with exquisite grace and softness and composure, she utters the one word—'Kill,' as if there were nothing gross in her that would cause her pain in the killing, as if 'to be killed' were but a matter of course where the lover wishes to kill, as if 'to be killed' were a sweet and graceful privilege of love. The scenes in which Selim holds angry converse with her have been worked out with great skill and delicacy. Asrumati is also firm and resolute. But her firmness is free from harshness; it, too, is soft and solid like herself. In one point only she contradicts herself, as we have found that she has belied herself in another. In scene 12, act IV, she appears to us as one who feels it improper to assert her Selim in the presence of an elderly relation. In the last Act, however, she asserts Selim in the presence of her dying father, and after she has heard that father curse that Selim. This is a strange contradiction, which makes, as it were, a large blot on a fair picture. When love destroys veneration and shame, it looks ugly and impure. We are sorry for this, and wish that Pratáp had been wholly kept out of view or more artistically connected with the story of Asrumati.

Selim is also a very good character—well-sustained and well-developed. He is honourable, ardent, and warm. The struggle that takes place in his mind between Asrumati and Ferid

Khan is very skilfully described. His dagger, which produces but a scratch, but does not take away the life of Asrumati, indicates an instinctive nobility of mind which pays unconscious homage to slandered virtue. Asrumati proves by her own Selim that she is a thing too noble to be touched by the wildest intriguer. This is the best point in Selim's character.

Ferid Khan is a vile, selfish intriguer—a bit of Iago. He acts his part well, and is rightly foiled in the end. He brings about a series of events which we read with breathless interest. He it is who makes the story dramatic. But he is a little too vulgar and looks too much like a dissipated rake. We think the author has made a serious mistake in representing him as one of the class of vulgar buffoons so often met with in the many worthless Bengali dramas of our time. We call it a mistake, because we consider so much buffoonery to be inconsistent with the stern and manly profession of a soldier.

The story of Asrumati, considered apart from that of the great Pratáp, is dramatically told, and speaks well for the author.

The get-up of the book is excellent.

Prabandha Pustaka. By Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. Printed and published by Radha Nath Bandyopadhyaya at the Banga Darsana Press, Kantalpara : 1285, B. S.

THIS is a collection of essays reprinted from the *Banga Darsana*. We read these essays when they appeared in that periodical. But we are glad that they have been brought out together in the form of a book. They are, one and all, extremely interesting. Some of them are of a general character, but most of them have special reference to India. Taken together they present us with a considerable variety of reading and display great power of thought and beauty of style. As an essayist, Babu Bankim Chandra is clear, lucid, logical, full of wit and humour, philosophical, and very often poetical. He has a manner of writing prose which is peculiarly his own. He is half serious and half comical, half grave and half gay, half learned and half colloquial, half philosophical and half poetical, half old and half young. But these halves do not mar or destroy each other. On the contrary, they strengthen and intensify each other and produce double the effect which the smallest want of skill in balancing them would have entirely nullified. There is another peculiarity in them which claims equal recognition, and that is, that they exhibit a beautiful harmony between the enunciation of great general principles and the statement of small particular facts—an admirable mixture of abstract and concrete, proving that the

gifted author is both a thinker and a poet. As to the tone of these writings, it may be said that nothing could be better. It is a tone of energy, earnestness, deep conviction, strong feeling, stern honesty, genuine eloquence, sober patriotism. Three of these essays are of a historical character and indicate vast reading and sound reflection. We are not quite sure whether the cause or rather causes of India's political subjection have been probed deeply enough. But we must say that the examination, so far as it has gone, is really admirable. The article, entitled *The Natural Basis of Hinduism*, is very learned, very bold, very ingenious, and very interesting. *Sankhya-Darsana* is extremely useful. With *Bhalabasar Atyachar* (Tyranny of Love) and *Práchíná and Navíná* (The Old Woman and the New) we have a little quarrel. It is said in the former that the affection of the mother who injures the earthly prospects of her beloved son by recalling him from his place of business in a distant country, is of a selfish character and therefore deserves to be condemned. The point is extremely difficult and delicate, and there may be as much error in taking one view of it as in taking another. But after considerable hesitation we have arrived at a conviction which we feel bound to express. If there is any mother who acts in the manner supposed by Bankim, it is the Hindu mother. She, of all mothers, cannot keep her son away from her. Is *she*, then, a selfish mother? Our view is this. We know what a Hindu mother is. We know she can fast for days, sit up night after night, pour out her life-blood, part with her everything for the happiness and welfare of her child. She may be neglected, she may be despised, she may be turned out of her home by her child, and yet, we know, that child will remain the sole solace of her heart, the soul of her soul and life of her life. But there is one thing that this child-mad woman cannot do. Come what may, she cannot bear to live so far away from her child. Is this selfishness or unification of two selves? If a man cannot live where he is not, no more can the Hindu mother live where her child is not. She and her child are not two persons. It is not a question of two lives but of one. This is a sort of motherliness, which results from certain social and race conditions. We know there is another sort of motherliness—the European, which seems to be Babu Bankim Chandra's ideal. But that is simply the result of certain other social and race conditions. The two sets of conditions are determined by two different ideals of earthly or objective life. You may prefer the European ideal of earthly life to the Hindu ideal. But you can have, on that account, no right to brand Hindu motherliness as selfish and ignoble. Closely considered, European motherliness

will be found to be the effect and expression of a much stronger play of self than the motherliness of Hindusthan.

In *Práchiná and Naviná*, we detect one unpardonable fault. *Navínhas* has been allowed a hearing in her own defence, but not *Práchiná*. Why?—is it because she is *Práchiná*? We can hardly believe this. বুড়ী রসের গুঁড়ি is a truth and a saying known to all, and *Práchiná* would have certainly imparted much curious flavour to the pie into which *Naviná* has been allowed to cast so many spices. Surely, *Práchiná* would be perfectly right in cursing poor Bankim as a one-eyed fellow. And that all the more because what is nothing better than a mere vicious love of finery in many a *Naviná* has been extolled as exquisite taste!

The article on “The Political Philosophy of Ancient India” is full of interest. It is smartly and cleverly written. This philosophy has been gathered from the *Mahábhárata*. We give the following as a specimen—the questions being the sage *Nárada*’s, and the rest, remarks by the author:—

“1. Have large tanks and reservoirs of water been excavated at different places in your kingdom? Is agriculture carried on independently of the chances of rain-fall?”

If Englishmen had borne this in mind, there would have been no famine in Orissa.

2. It would, in our opinion, be well if the British Government should attend to the following advice—

There is, perhaps, no deficiency of food and seeds in the houses of the agriculturists? When necessary, do you favour them with loans to the extent of one hundred pieces of coin on one-fourth interest?

In consequence of the absence of this practice at the present time, the agriculturists of this country are sold to the money-lenders. All of them do not always get money even from the money-lenders—most of them are weak in body from want of food—without hope, from want of seeds. Whoever gets, cannot get except at compound interest. Many will say that he alone will advise the king to practise money-lending who knows not economic science—trading on the part of the king is injurious to society. We ourselves know the economic objection and the author of the *Mahábhárata* also knew it. It is therefore that three important provisions are inserted in *Narada*’s aforesaid saying. (1) He advises loans ‘when necessary,’ which means that they are to be given to such as cannot do without them. And the maxim therefore forbids loans to such as can obtain them from money-lenders. Consequently the king does not become a speculator. Secondly, he should grant loans as ‘favours’—that is, not for the sake of profit, like speculators. Why, then, at interest? Because, in the

absence of this provision any one would be likely to take loans without necessity—there are cheats everywhere. Besides, whenever loans are given, portions thereof are recovered and portions are not recovered. So that, in the absence of any provision for interest, the king becomes a loser. And if losses are incurred by advancing loans from the royal treasury, the administration of the State is jeopardised. Thirdly, loans 'up to a certain amount' and not more are to be given. This means that the king is to advance loans to the extent required for the bare subsistence of his subjects. To make larger advances would be to act like a speculator. These three provisions fully meet the objections of economists. The ancient Hindus understood economic science full well."

We heartily recommend this book to the reader as eminently deserving of his attention. It forms an extremely valuable contribution to Bengali literature.

Aitihásik Rahasya, Parts I, II & III. By Rám Dás Sen.
Published at Berhampur by Ninai Charan Mukhopadhyaya.
Printed at Iswara Chundra Basu and Co.'s, Stanhope Press,
No. 249, Bahubazar, Calcutta.

TEN years ago there was not one book of this kind in the Bengali language, and that language itself was held in little favour or esteem by educated Hindus. But a happy and wholesome change has taken place almost suddenly. It is not many years since a distinguished English civilian, belonging to the Positivist school of thought, reproached the new generation of Hindus as a mongrel race who, without being good English scholars, bore an ignoble feeling of hatred to their mother-tongue. We cannot say that the reproach was wholly unmerited or that there are not still many against whom it could be fairly directed. But that very many more have cast it aside by cultivating their mother-tongue and a taste for their country's literature, is beyond question. Within the last few years many Hindu gentlemen, who deserve to be called clever English scholars, have written books in their own language, and many more have been found to read these books with something like patriotic interest. Nor is this all. Some of these educated Hindus have written Bengali books for the use of Bengali school boys—which means that the vernacular language has been seriously recognised by educated leaders of the Bengali community as the only true medium of national culture. This is as it should be. The work under notice is, in our opinion, the outcome of the new literary spirit of the country, and a remarkable index of the large revolution in thought and feeling which has

taken place quite recently and of which the new literary spirit is but one small manifestation. By this revolution is meant the warm patriotic interest and pride newly awakened in the educated Hindu mind—the new national spirit which is found to be at work in many spheres of thought and action, social, literary, and political. The *Ātīhāsik Rahasya* deals with subjects relating to ancient India and means simply the interest which is now felt by educated Hindus in the achievements of their ancestors. It is the expression of a very healthy feeling, and it is by itself a very healthy commodity. The subjects treated of are many, and possess great general and national interest. The Vedas; the Bauddha and Jaina religions; Aryan customs and manners; the Pali language; ancient Indian music; the poets Kalidás, Vararuchi and Sriharsa; the Hindu theatre; Sanskrit grammar—these and many others are Babu Rám Dás's themes. And all these, we are glad to say, have been discussed with marked ability and erudition. They give us much valuable information. Take one instance:—"In the Vedic age, women used not to be shut up or hidden from the sun as they are at present. But in ancient times Indian women were never allowed the sort of liberty that 'reformers', fond of female emancipation, are now giving to a Raj Lakshmi Dé or a Basanta Kumari Datta. In those times they could go everywhere with their husbands—but nowhere alone or in the company of any other man or woman. The wives of kings, sitting on the kingly throne, used to do kingly duties; the wives of Brahmins used to perform sacrificial work with their husbands, and the wives of Vaisyas discharged moral and religious duties with their husbands." This makes it perfectly clear that Hindu women, in ancient times, were not the debased and degraded slaves that writers of the school of Mr. James Mill represent them to have been. These discussions are, in fact, a very valuable repertory of information, and we are glad to find from the fact of the first part of the work having already passed through two editions, that educated Hindus have begun to appreciate their worth and usefulness. Indeed, considering the great national renaissance, so to say, of which this work is but an expression, it could meet with nothing but a warm and hospitable reception at the hands of the author's enlightened countrymen. But the personal interest attaching to this publication is, perhaps, even more noteworthy than the national interest which belongs to it. For Babu Rám Dás Sen is a young Bengali zemindar who has nobly cut through the traditions of his class which, if followed, would have made of him an abominable votary of Bacchus. Babu Rám Dás's style is easy, clear, and sober.

Messrs. I. C. Bose & Co. have done their part of the work very creditably.

Nandavansoch'cheda : An Aupanyasika Nátaka. By Lakshmi Narain Chakravarti. Second edition. Printed by Annoda Prasád Roy, at Haris Chandra Roy's Sahitya Sangraha Press, No 7, Ultadighi Road, Calcutta.

WE must confess our inability to review this drama. The author calls it an *Aupanyasika Nátaka*, and we do not know what that means. An *Upanyas* means a story, and every drama has necessarily a story. Unless, therefore, Babu Lakshmi Narain means that there could be a drama without a story, we do not know how to interpret his *Aupanyasika Nátaka* to our readers. But, in as much as Babu Lakshmi Narain has undergone the expense of printing his 'drama with a story', and the trouble of sending us a copy of it, we think it proper to take a little trouble ourselves for his sake. We, therefore, open the drama and find it to be a play based upon the historical incident described in the celebrated Sanskrit drama called *Mudra Rakshasa*. We now see how the author should have described his great production. We see that, instead of calling it an *Aupanyasika* drama, he should have called it an *aitihásika* drama—a 'historical' drama, instead of 'a drama with a story'. We now proceed a little further in order to see the stuff this thing is made of. We see it is the story of *Mudra Rakshasa* on an improved plan. And the improvement consists in introducing into it Shakspeare's Hamlet, Hamlet's uncle, and Hamlet's mother ! All this is very clever indeed ; but where is the ghost ? Perhaps Babu Lakshmi Narain wishes us to take *him* for a *bhoot* !

Ananda Kánana : Nátya-Rupaka. By Lakshmi Narain Chakravarti. Second edition. Printed and published by Hari Nath Khan at the New Bharata Press : Calcutta.

THIS is an opera, not badly conceived. There is some sweetness in the piece. It is at least a better production than the author's *Aupanyasika Nátaka*.

The Koran : Translated into Bengali from the original Arabic. By Rajendra Nath Datta. Parts I and II. Printed by Mihir Chandra Ray at the Ayurveda Press. Calcutta : 1285 B. S.

LIKE the Vedas, the Bible, and the Avesta, the Koran is one of the most important books in the world. It is the religious scripture of a large portion of the human race, and it is still held in veneration over a large portion of the globe. In India it is

the sacred book of many millions of men, and the Mussulman conquest of India itself was in no small degree owing to its influence. The following passage in Mahomet's address to his disciples shows this :—

“The country called Hind is an unholy country, deprived of the favour of God, one which ought not to be touched, perhaps nothing better than human ordure. What holy peace can they enjoy with whom grass, wood, and clay are adorable things? Can they be happy who revere not Mahomet? Can they be believed by the Father, who have placed no faith in my words? God has said those women shall remain for all time as worms of hell; and I say that those beasts of the forest shall be reckoned as food for my burnished sword. My sword was made for them; it was not made for my followers. Let Islam now prosper; let the Arab kingdom enjoy peace. The people of Hind are women; they know only the female character, they know not the power or qualities of the kind God; they hail even God as a woman. My keen eye has fallen upon them. Either they shall live in peace or this fire shall consume them to ashes. So long as one drop of blood remains in the body of God's beloved son Mahomet, Mahomet will not forget to punish those impure people of Hind. The practices of the people of Hind are recorded in the book of God; seeing what is stated in that book, I shall make arrangements for all things.”

We all know the effect of these terrible words on the followers of Mahomet. But the benign rule of England has put an end to that hostility between Hindu and Mussulman which kept two mighty sections of the human race so far apart, and for so long a time. The time has now come for them to cultivate friendly relations, and the translation of the Koran into the Bengali language is itself a happy sign of the Catholic spirit which England has been able to infuse into the various sections of the Indian population. The Hindu is now in a position to study the scriptures of the Mussulman and the Mussulman to study the scriptures of the Hindu in the interest of social and historical philosophy, and without being influenced by the old and happily extinct spirit of religious and ethnic animosity. It is for this reason that we hail this production as a valuable contribution to Bengali literature and sincerely desire its completion. We trust the enterprising translator will receive the encouragement that he deserves at the hands of the enlightened public of India.

Prakriti Tattwa. By Sriram Palit. Published by Kali. Kinkar Chakravarti at the Valmiki Press : Calcutta, Sakabda 1800

THIS is a treatise on natural philosophy prepared by the author with a very laudable object. The subjects treated of are the sky, atoms, the air, water, fire, electricity, magnetism, the solar system, the earth and the moon, seed and vegetables, animal life, infants, the brain, the different organs of sense, the hand, the stomach, the blood, and the mother's womb. Something has been said on all these points for the instruction of little boys and girls. But there is much in this book of which we do not at all approve. Take the very first passage, which refers to the sky :—

কিছুই ছিল না বিশ্ব করিতে প্রকাশ,

পরমেশ সৃজিলেন অসীম আকাশ ।

স্বপ্ন ক্ষেত্র শব্দকারী

গগন সর্বত্র হেরি,

অস্বহীন জগতের অনন্ত আলয়

আদিভূতে সব ভূত উপচয় লয় ।

The first two verses mean that there was nothing and the first thing created was the sky. Transcendent philosophy this, bad food for children's minds! Besides, by 'sky' is meant 'space', and is it not extremely hazardous to say that at some time 'space' was not? Again, should not there have been a stop after ন? The sky is said to be *sabdakāri*—which is Hindu philosophy, but very difficult to explain or understand. By *gagana* the author means the exploded mediæval 'ether' of Europe! And so on throughout the book. We hear that *Prakriti Tattwa* has been adopted as a text-book in some of our vernacular schools. If so, we must say that a very injudicious step has been taken. From what we have already said, it is perfectly clear that this is not a book which ought to be placed in the hands of our boys and girls. And it should be further observed that verse—at least such verse as Babu Sriram has written—is not the form in which instruction in natural philosophy should be given to Bengali children. Natural philosophy demands clear and lucid exposition, especially when it is taught to boys. But the exigencies of metre produce forms of construction extremely unfavourable to clearness and lucidity of style. And we are sorry to say that the book under notice is full of difficult and obscure forms of grammatical structure. In the second place, verse is a very injudicious and inappropriate medium of instruction in the case of Bengali boys.

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The Indian mind is viciously fond of verse-making, and mere metre has for it a charm which prevents it from conceiving a taste for sound, sober, and manly prose. The fact seems to be understood by our University authorities, who have recently abolished poetry from the course of studies for the Entrance Examination, and adopted Lamb's Tales from Shakspeare as the only text-book in English literature. To teach natural philosophy from such a book as the *Prakriti Tattwa* of Babu Sriram Palit would be, under these circumstances, to encourage instead of correcting a vicious national taste, and to confirm in the lower and primary what the University is so anxious to eradicate in the higher and secondary stage of Indian education. We trust the Director of Public Instruction and Inspectors of Schools in Bengal will take these remarks into consideration.

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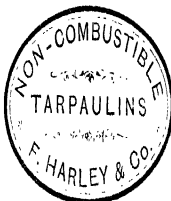
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